

AMERICA

A-CATHOLIC-REVIEW-OF-THE-WEEK

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The Borah Resolution

THE sudden agitation of such papers as the New York Times and World-Telegram over the proposed Borah investigation into the Mexican persecution of religion was difficult to understand. It was certainly disingenuous, to say the least, to conclude immediately that this step would constitute intervention into the affairs of another country. We take for granted that their editorial writers have other sources of information than the items that merely appear in their own columns. If they have not, of course, then their excitement is partly understandable, for the Mexican situation is the most poorly reported important event in modern times. At the same time, it is the most highly inflammable for good relations between the two countries. It is these two aspects of it that render superficial any objection standing on a mere legalistic point that international comity forbids any peering into what goes on in another country.

The truth is that this Mexican question is an American question, an American question of the most domestic kind. If the Times once doubted that, it cannot any longer, for it later admitted that it had received so many telegrams and letters on its objection that "it would be physically impossible to print them all." It is a most important thing that not only all our Catholics but influential organs of non-Catholic opinion like the *Christian Century*, the *Living Church*, the *American Hebrew*, and the *American Israelite*, and groups like the National Conference of Jews and Christians, to name but a few, are seriously agitated over the official Government attack on religion below the Rio Grande. How can there be any good feeling between Americans and Mexicans as long as this inflamed feeling exists in this country? For the very cause of peace, it is highly important that the Senate,

which is a partner in our foreign relations, look into it. It is a reality which faces this country, not a trumped-up agitation of a few interested parties.

It is not as if Senator Borah's record is one of hostility toward Mexico. Quite the contrary. That is what made most appropriate the step he took. Our own representative in Mexico has gone out of his diplomatic way to intervene in domestic political affairs in Mexico time and again, to the great irritation of people here. Mexico is making a big advertising push to lure American travelers to that beautiful country. Rotary International and the Lions are planning conventions there this summer. Two more irritations. No American can go to church down there on Sunday without running the imminent risk of being shot down after services, as some twenty were shot down recently in a suburb of Mexico City by Red Shirts supported by a Cabinet member out of Government funds. How can the Mexican Government invite Americans to visit them, when it insults the religion of a large majority of them, and in fifteen States will not even allow it to function at all? Is not this a proper matter for our Senate to investigate, if it has any regard for our friendly relations with Mexico? As a matter of fact, we think that Senator Borah, with whom we have disagreed on more than one occasion and will no doubt do so again, has proposed a signal service to amicable relations with Mexico, and all of Latin America, whose irritation against us is growing even faster than is American irritation against Mexico. A hush-hush policy will simply not work. The thing has gone too far.

Senator Borah might have gone even farther than he did. He said nothing of the many other sore spots that exist in the Mexican situation. Mexico has repudiated its international obligations since 1927. It has subjected American business down there to a thousand vexatious

and unjust impositions. It has made itself a focus of infection in Cuba and other Latin American countries. It has subjected Americans in Mexico to a denial of many fundamental rights admitted in all civilized countries, as was pointed out in the excellent resolution proposed in the House of Representatives by Congressman Clare Fenty, of Pennsylvania. Far from being restricted in its scope the Borah resolution should be widened still more.

Letters and Billions

IT is to their credit that Americans are willing to spend billions of dollars annually to provide a school for every child. Education, or what passes for education, stands so high in public favor that the most popular of all public bills is one which proposes a new expenditure for school purposes. All this is to our credit, but it is not pleasant to reflect that this generous spirit is frequently abused.

Some of this abuse is inevitable. The public-school system, including the State institutions of higher learning, is necessarily a part of our political machinery, and, as such, is not infrequently entangled in partisan-political schemes that have no connection with the public good. Considering the vast extent of the system, some waste and trickery may be said to be inevitable. Deplorable as this condition is, it will probably remain. The best that can be done is to reduce the abuses to a minimum.

What the public-school system needs sorely today is an exhaustive survey by competent and impartial investigators of its financial system. Partial surveys, such as that recently completed by the New York State Economic Council for the city of Niagara Falls, have frequently disclosed the fact that cities are heavily taxed to support projects which hinder rather than develop the child's intellectual growth, and that with intelligent planning and supervision better results can be achieved at a lower cost. In the instance cited, the Council pointed out, in general, that the system "had too much form and too little substance"; that much effort was expended "to make the school machine run showily," and far too little to stimulate "intelligent behavior on part of the pupil"; that exorbitant salaries were paid to teachers "who confine themselves to mere class manipulation," while the smaller stipends went to those teachers "who skillfully promote learning on the part of the pupils." Since the schools at Niagara Falls are, on the whole, conducted as well as others of the system, the survey may be taken as giving a fair picture of the system as a unit. Indeed, the willingness of the school authorities to submit their work to examination and searching criticism suggests a degree of intelligence decidedly above the average.

In the last twenty years, the public-school system has everywhere widened its courses, in response to what the Council styles an "overemphasis on the individual's right to such schooling as he may personally desire." The result of this expansion has not been a better type of education, but, chiefly, a larger number of teachers, and an increased tax rate. The Council suggests that this

expansion be checked by making the community realize "the pupil's obligation to make profitable use of such educational opportunities as society provides." Since 1918, the number of teachers in the city of New York, for example, has increased by fifty-eight per cent, while the salary budget has increased by 252 per cent. For a number of years the largest single item in every American municipal budget has been for the support of the public schools. There must be a limit, and if we have not passed it, as some claim, we are certainly nearing it.

The simple fact that however useful public education may be, it must be limited by our ability to pay for it, still eludes some of our professional educators. Speaking at a meeting of the Public Education Association of New York some weeks ago, Eduard C. Lindeman, of the New York School of Social Work, asserted that "the capitalistic economic system of the country frustrated all attempts at a sound educational system," by paring appropriations to the bone. Instead of spending a beggarly \$3,000,000,000 annually on the schools, we ought to spend \$11,000,000,000. But before we begin to invent new school taxes, let us investigate. We shall probably discover that we can have better schools for considerably less than \$3,000,000,000 per year.

The Devious Utility

IN conducting an investigation of the Consolidated Gas Co., the State of New York is acquiring some knowledge, but not much. This corporation, like most of its kind, is as secretive as a father confessor. But the Hon. John E. Mack, counsel to the legislative commission, is uncovering a few facts which show that the general suspicion which the country now entertains of the average public utility is not unfounded.

Three of these facts may be summarized. On January 16, an audit made of the subsidiaries of the Associated Gas system was shipped to Philadelphia. Attorneys for these companies had asked a short delay, when the commission threatened to secure the audit under a subpoena. The delay was granted, and advantage was taken of it to send the papers to another State, so that they could not be obtained by the commission. On second thought, however, the books were brought back. On another day, it was shown that, in order to obtain higher rates, the Consolidated had rated a number of junked trucks as worth \$102,000. Finally, and most important, it was proved that the Consolidated has been fighting for years, and successfully, to keep these papers from the Public Service Commission, a body whose powers are not as great as those of the legislative commission.

These vagaries are but trivial, however, when compared with the excursions made by other power companies which serve the city and State of New York. A Federal Power Commission report, recently made to Congress, shows that one company, the Associated Gas and Electric Co., had no trouble whatever in evading a Federal tax on a profit of \$37,000,000 made by one of its subsidiaries. Book values, submitted by the utilities in

order to fix rates, were found to be useless, since as a rule, the companies made their own valuations, and the Public Service Commission had no means of determining whether these were real or fictitious. In the end the public paid higher rates.

The protests of the utility companies that they are being persecuted do not ring true. The fact seems to be that the utility company which deals fairly with the public is as rare as a giraffe on Park Avenue. One of our many needs in this country is a public-utility commission which does not turn into a swift and legal means of obtaining higher rates from the public.

Labor at the Crossroads

SEEKING a "showdown" from the President of the United States, organized labor has received its answer. But it was not the answer expected by President Green, of the Federation of Labor, or by that fiery leader in a hundred labor battles, John L. Lewis. In his letter to Charlton Ogburn, counsel for the automobile unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, on February 5, President Roosevelt asserted in very plain language that, despite the Federation, he intended to support the Government's Automobile Board.

The President's letter is taken as a sign that he is not afraid to break with the Federation. It can be taken in no other sense. However, the Federation refuses to fight the President, and still proclaims him as labor's savior. But the President in his turn must be saved from some of his advisers, notably, Donald Richberg, S. Clay Williams, and Leo Wolman.

Our sympathies in this battle are with the Federation. We have never hesitated to criticize this body, even to the deep displeasure of President Green, but we have never been blind to its good qualities. With all its faults, it is the one nation-wide group that speaks for labor at the present moment. All that we are offered in its place by the Administration, or by Mr. Richberg, is a series of boards to which battling factions of company unions and genuine unions can appeal, after proportional representation has been established. It is our calm judgment, not only that the present break could have been averted, but that a permanent labor policy could have been established months ago, had care been taken at the outset of this Administration to give labor due representation in all matters which directly affected labor.

We need not say that we are wholly in sympathy with the main purposes announced by the President. To repeat that statement is to expatiate on the obvious. We have championed those purposes for more than a quarter of a century. This Review was advocating collective bargaining, the right of labor to organize, decent working conditions, a living wage for all, and the social program of Leo XIII, long before Mr. Roosevelt became a national figure. But it seems to us that the President has been singularly unhappy in many of his advisers; so unhappy, indeed, that both recovery and reform are impossible if the views of some among them finally prevail.

As one instance, we cite the penchant of Mr. Richberg for going out of his way to attack the doctrine of natural rights. If that doctrine be set aside, on what substantial basis can we rest the defense of the individual against all wrongs, whether proceeding from the Government or from the rapacious capitalist, mad for money? As another instance, Hugh Johnson, who with Richberg, never really tried to enforce Section 7a, the very heart of the Recovery Act, may be mentioned. Finally, the insistence of the President himself upon proportional representation in industrial organization tends to make labor organization and collective bargaining a mockery rather than a reality.

Labor has borne these facts with patience. When labor leaders were excluded from the groups which drew up the codes, it contented itself with pointing out the serious error of the omission. When the President asked an end of the strikes in the textile, steel, and automobile industries, labor yielded, although this concession put its rights in jeopardy. When S. Clay Williams, the cigarette manufacturer, whose industry has thus far escaped a code, was appointed to a Government labor board, it registered its protest, which went unheard. Again and again has labor seen its interests put in the hands of men who either did not know what those interests were, or, knowing them, thought too easily that full recognition would slow up recovery. For months labor has borne in silence the procrastinating Wolman automobile board, boggling over facts that are plain to all in the industry, and most careful not to offend manufacturers who boldly proclaim that they will never deal with an "outside," that is, with a freely chosen union.

We sincerely trust that the Federation and the President will soon find some common ground of agreement. If the Federation goes down, proportional representation comes in, and, as Hugh Johnson now admits, the presence of various unions in a single industry is an impracticable scheme. We do not identify the Federation with labor, but it is only fair to point out that at present labor has no other representative.

The Senate Gets Its Man

THE right of the Senate to punish for contempt has frequently been denied. Usually, when the culprit played his cards skillfully, it has been denied successfully. Either the Senate grew tired, after a wild chase through the lower courts, or the Senate Commission which had deemed itself insulted, expired through operation of a sort of statute of limitations.

Under the Constitution, Congress is authorized to make such enquiries as are necessary for its information in preparing legislation. In January, 1934, the Senate, investigating air-mail contracts, demanded certain papers from William P. MacCracken, Jr., an attorney for an airline. MacCracken at first alleged his professional duty to his clients, but the Senate suggested that he obtain their consent. Meanwhile, a partner of MacCracken permitted an employe of one of the airlines involved to ex-

amine the files, to tear up certain papers which the Senate's investigators later found in a waste basket, and to secrete others. For this act the employe was held in contempt by the Senate; accepting his sentence he went to jail for ten days. MacCracken was given the same sentence on February 12, and appealed on the ground that he could not be punished for an act which could not affect the proceedings of the Senate, and which, in any case, had been revoked as to its effects, prior to his arrest. By unanimous decision, the Supreme Court held that the Senate had acted within its discretion.

Some Senate commissions have been mere fishing expeditions, created for partisan purposes. Others have been of supreme value to the country. For the guidance of future witnesses before any Congressional inquiry, this decision of the Court will be a more than useful precedent to follow.

Note and Comment

Candlemas Honored

ONE of the most time-honored opportunities offered by the liturgy of the Church for the Faithful to participate in public worship is that of the Candlemas procession, on the Feast of the Purification of Our Lady. By a testimony dated back by scholars as early as 725 A.D., the procession with lights was instituted in Rome by Pope Sergius, 687-701 A.D., taking the place of an earlier pagan celebration. On February 2 of this year the congregation of the Church of St. Catherine of Siena, in New York City, in charge of the Dominican Fathers, took part in this procession with observance of the entire traditional rite. The full plainchant for the procession and Solemn Mass, including the Gradual, were rendered by the *schola* of the Liturgical Arts Society, under the direction of Dr. Becket Gibbs. The antiphonal chant of the "Nunc Dimittis," *Lumen ad revelationem gentium*, was chanted by the Schola during the distribution of candles, while the great hymn of Eastern origin, *Adorna thalamum tuum, Sion*, was sung by the Schola while walking in procession. While endeavoring to execute the chant with as much finish and correctness as is possible for ordinary busy laymen—lay musically as well as clerically—to attain, their aim is not an artistic performance, but a work of worship, offered to the Sacramental Saviour in the spirit of religion. By so doing, they hope to inspire others to make similar efforts, and so help to restore the chant to its original position in the life of the Catholic laity. A diocesan priest, a Paulist, a Benedictine, a Dominican, and a Jesuit took part in the services of the altar, while the laity, schooled and unschooled, according to their functions, did the rest. The total impression was of the splendor and fitness of the service of the Church, when rendered thus in full, especially in the liturgical setting of a Church like St. Catherine of Siena.

Unique Abyssinia

WITH a tenacity that kept all Geneva in a panic, Abyssinia's delegate to the League stuck to his right of appeal to the Council until Italy finally agreed to abandon her demand for punishment, and to submit the border incidents at Walwal and Gerlogubi to negotiations. The passing clash threw light upon the unique role this ancient Ethiopian kingdom plays in the international scheme. Close to the Middle Sea that is the center of the world's civilization, Abyssinia, a sovereign nation ruled by a non-white race is the one great Christian kingdom outside of Europe, an outpost of Christianity. It is vast, sparsely populated, and fairly temperate in climate. Three great Powers are vitally interested in it, for varying reasons: England, from Abyssinia's position at the gateway to the Far East; Italy, as an overflow for her population, little tempted by the hot sands of her African colonies; and France, with her eye to Equatorial Africa and her distrust of Mohammedan influence. From the ends of the earth a fourth nation, Japan, has begun intimacy with the isolated Abyssinians through her commerce. Yet the land is governed by no puppet or tribal fanatic. King Haile is a shrewd, progressive monarch, seconded by an equally able spouse. Both are well versed in the art of playing off rivals against one another. No nation in these times can be left wholly alone. But the wisest course in these critical times would seem to be that Abyssinia should be left as freely as possible to follow its own undisturbed development, and not become a battleground for contending spheres of influence. Africa's past, and the Chaco warfare in South America's present, would teach the wisdom of such a course.

World-Telegram's Boomerang

LAST week, when the Senate voted against the World Court, the New York *World-Telegram* grew red in the face, lost its head, and almost swore in public. Shortly afterward, despite its much publicized championing of human rights and fundamental liberties, it came out with a bitter denunciation of the proposed Senate inquiry into the Mexican persecution. Then, feeling particularly annoyed with Senator Borah and hot to make him seem an intellectual clown, the paper offered a cartoon. Beautifully drawn by Rollin Kirby, the cartoon showed the grizzled old Idaho warrior displaying a placard in each hand. One expressed his opposition to Geneva. "Down with the World Court!" it read, "No participation in foreign affairs!" The second expressed the Senator's "Demand for Senate inquiry into religious strife in Mexico." To the *World-Telegram* these conflicting positions of the Idaho potato seemed ridiculous and outrageous, and it topped its cartoon with an ironic head: "An Achievement in Inconsistency!" AMERICA (which opposed Mr. Borah on the World Court but upholds him on Mexico) agrees he seemed inconsistent. At the same time this Review is more than mildly amused at the *World-Telegram*. If AMERICA employed a Rollin Kirby, it might ask him just now to do a devastating

cartoon. An armed crusader, for example, holding up two placards—the crusader to represent the *World-Telegram* and the placards that newspaper's editorial beliefs. One placard would read, "Hurrah for the World Court! We demand participation in foreign affairs!" The second would read, "Down with the Borah resolution! We want no participation in foreign affairs!" Over this interesting cartoon we could then run the legend: "The *World-Telegram's* Achievement in Inconsistency!"

Catholic Summer School Friends

THE Catholic Summer School of America, which holds its session June to September every year in its very beautiful situation on Lake Champlain, is gathering its friends together so that the lifting depression, or the disappearing economic crisis, or whatever else this disturbing money movement may be called, may be followed by a proper reaction along education as well as other lines. The Summer School has meant a very great deal to Catholic life and has contributed very definitely to the diffusion of Catholic culture in the United States. Long before Catholic Action was defined so succinctly by Pius XI, Cliff Haven was doing very precious work which would come under that heading. The lectures have supplied materials of all kinds to Catholics with regard to current problems in the intellectual and social life of our time. Of course it was hard hit by the depression, as what educational institution was not? There seems every reason to think that with the passing of the crisis the School is waking up to a vigorous life of the spirit that will enable it to accomplish ever so much more good than before. The roll of presidents of the School contains the names of some of the best-known Catholic clergymen of the East, who were glad to make personal sacrifices to make the Summer School a center of Catholic life and thought. The Summer School owns over 500 acres on nearly a square mile of lake front. All the sports are cultivated, swimming is at hand, boating for those who care for it, one-day trips of many kinds in the historically interesting neighborhood, all these combined make the Summer School the most interesting vacation place that a Catholic can find.

Parade Of Events

OCASIONED perhaps by the bad weather, signs of grumpiness flashed forth during the week. A member of Parliament called Premier MacDonald a "mountebank, a swine, and a yellow cur." A Laborite called the Royal family "parasites," a designation said to be offensive to them. . . . A woman in Washington, annoyed at her husband, threw dishes, milk bottles, brass book ends, and other furniture at him. Angered by the shower of furniture, he opposed her suit for divorce. . . . The French destroyer, *Ouragan*, shot itself at sea. . . . Increasing Americanization of the Esquimaux on the Aleutian Islands was recorded. They are drinking more beer than ever before. . . . A cat with twenty-five toes was

seen stepping around New Jersey, and fur-bearing trout were reported in the Yellowstone lakes. Ads featuring gorgeous coats of trout fur may soon be screaming in the papers. . . . There seemed to be sterner Congressional opposition to the fifteen-cent pie in the House restaurant than to the proposed four-billion-dollar appropriation. . . . A French submarine was named *Casabianca* in honor of the boy who stood on the burning deck whence all but he had fled. A relative of the deck-standing boy christened the vessel. . . . Widespread medical onslaughts on disease may soon develop, it was felt, into a sort of national "Share-the-Health" movement. . . . Marathon sneezers and hiccoughers were getting their pictures in the papers. . . . Postmaster-General Farley has canceled his imperforate Stamp Act. Fear of the philatelist vote was adjudged the reason. A new issue showing Mr. Farley holding a sheet of unglued imperforates in his hand was suggested. . . . Court addicts attending the Hauptmann trial sighed that there can never be a genuine Fisch story or a Sharpe denial.

Knights of Columbus Mobilization

IN order to do away once for all with that plague of all fraternal orders, passive membership, the leaders of the Knights of Columbus have set on foot a vast and far-reaching plan of Catholic Action. The Chairman of this mobilization of the man power of the order is William P. Larkin, the President of P. F. Collier and Son Company, the well-known publishers, and the new plan was officially launched at a recent meeting of the supreme officers. The immediate objectives of the mobilization are defense of the Catholics in Mexico, support of the Legion of Decency, and the strengthening of Catholic welfare, social-service, and educational work. These are the actual projects of Catholic Action in this country, and it is good to see such a large body as the Knights concentrating on them. It has long been known that you cannot keep any body of men interested in a society, unless you give them "something to do," and here is that something with a vengeance. The work is to be subdivided into twenty-six area centers throughout the country, and thus as large a number of men as is possible will be actively engaged with personal responsibility for the success of the plan in their districts. All Catholics will welcome this practical move of the Knights.

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WILFRED PARSONS
Editor-in-Chief

PAUL L. BLAKELY
GERARD B. DONNELLY

FRANCIS X. TALBOT
WILLIAM I. LONERGAN

JOHN LAFARGE
JOHN A. TOOMEY

Associate Editors
FRANCIS P. LEBUFFE, Business Manager

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My Six Conversions

G. K. CHESTERTON

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V. The Case of Spain

[*Editor's Note.* This is the second instalment of the fifth article in this series. The sixth and final article will be published in the issue of March 16.]

THE point of the recent political story in Spain has never been put clearly in the papers; perhaps not quite clearly even in the Catholic papers. It is a very striking example of how the world has really moved since my own most important change of conviction occurred.

There is a paradox in every story of conversion; which is perhaps the reason why the records of it are never ideally satisfactory. It is in its very nature the extinction of egoism; and yet every account of it must sound egoistic. It means, at least in the case of the religion in question, a recognition of reality which has nothing to do with relativity. It is as if a man said: "This inn really exists, even if I have never found it"; or: "My home is actually in this village; and would be there if I had never reached it."

It is the recognition that the truth is true, apart from the truth seeker; and yet the description must be the autobiography of a truth seeker; generally a rather depressing sort of person.

It will therefore sound egotistical if I preface these remarks by saying that I was for a long time a Liberal in the sense of belonging to the Liberal party. I am still a Liberal: it is only the Liberal party that has disappeared.

I understood its ideal to be that of equal citizenship and personal freedom; and they are my own political ideals to this day.

The point here, however, is that I worked for a long time with the practical organization of Liberalism; I wrote for a great part of my life for the old *Daily News*; and I knew of course that it identified political liberty, rightly or wrongly, with representative government.

Then came the breach, on which I need not insist; except by saying that I became quite convinced of two facts: first, that representative government had ceased to be representative; second, that Parliament was in fact gravely menaced by political corruption. Politicians did not represent the populace, even the most noisy and vulgar of the populace. Politicians did not deserve the dignified name of demagogues. They deserved no name except perhaps the name of bagmen; they were traveling for private firms. If they represented anything, it was vested interests, vulgar but not even popular.

For this reason, when the Fascists' revolt appeared in Italy, I could not be entirely hostile to it; for I knew the hypocritical plutocracy against which it rebelled. But neither could I be entirely friendly to it; for I believed

in the civic equality in which the politicians pretended to believe.

For the present purpose, the problem can be put very briefly. The whole of the real case for Fascism can be put in two words never printed in our newspapers: *secret societies*. The whole case against Fascism could be put in one word now never used and almost forgotten: *legitimacy*.

For the first, the Fascist was justified in smashing the politicians, for their contract with the people was secretly contradicted by their secret contracts with gangs and conspiracies.

For the second, Fascism could never be quite satisfactory; for it did not rest on authority but only on power; which is the weakest thing in the world. The Fascists said in effect: "We may not be the majority, but we are the most vigorous and intelligent minority." Which is simply challenging any other intelligent minority to show that it is more vigorous. It may well end in the very anarchy it attempted to avoid.

Compared with this, despotism and democracy are *legitimate*. I mean there is no doubt about who is the King's eldest son or about who has most votes in the most mechanical election. But a mere competition of intelligent minorities is a rather dreadful prospect. That, it seems to me, is a fair statement of the case for and against the Fascist movement. And now I should like to apply it to the curious case of Spain; and note how Liberalism met the issue.

For weeks and months on end my old organ the *Daily News* (now the *News-Chronicle*) had warned the public of all these doubtful and dangerous implications of Fascism. It had reviled Fascism for its vices; and rather more virulently for its virtues. But anyhow it had furiously denounced the notion of a minority imposing its will by mere violence, by weapons or military training, in contempt of the constitutional democracy in which the people expressed its will through Parliament.

I think there is a great deal to be said for that view, especially in England, where Parliament is really normal and national as it never was in Italy or Germany. I could write much for and much against the Liberal theory as enunciated in the *News-Chronicle*.

And then suddenly the whole case was thrown over, and turned upside down, in face of the simple situation in Spain.

First it must be remembered that the Church is always in advance of the world. That is why it is said to be behind the times. It discussed everything so long ago that people have forgotten the discussion. St. Thomas was an internationalist before all our internationalists; St. Joan was a nationalist almost before there were nations; St. Robert Bellarmine said all there is to be said for democracy before anybody anywhere else dared to be

a democrat; and (what is to the purpose here) the Christian social reform was in full activity *before* any of these quarrels of Fascists and Bolsheviks appeared.

The Popular party was working out the ideas of Leo XIII before a single blackshirt had been seen in Italy. The same popular ideals had been moving in Spain; with the result that they had really become popular.

There were other complications, of course; the Court had never been quite popular, challenged not long ago by a Catholic Carlist movement from the north; the dictatorship had not, I think, been imaginative about the curious problem of Catalonia; but all this did not effect the profound and popular Catholic change.

The Pope particularly insisted that he had no objection to the republic as such; there was no opposition to anything but to certain inhuman ideals by which men would lose humanity in losing personal liberty and property.

Well, in the perfectly fair and open intellectual interchange, in which all Liberals are supposed to believe, the Catholic ideals won. At an entirely peaceful and legal election, exactly like any English election, a vast majority voted in various degrees for the traditional truths which had been normal to the nation for much more than 2,000 years.

Spain spoke, if indeed elections do speak; and declared constitutionally against Communism, against atheism, against the negations that starved normality in our time.

Nobody said that this majority had been achieved by military violence. Nobody pretended that an armed minority had imposed it on the state. If the Liberal theory of parliamentary majorities was just, this was just. If the parliamentary system was a popular system, this was popular. And then the Socialists suddenly jumped up and did exactly everything that the Fascists have been blamed for doing.

They used bombs and guns and instruments of violence to prevent the fulfilment of the will of the people, or at least of the will of the Parliament. Having lost the game by the rules of democracy, they tried to win it after all entirely by the rules of war, in this case of civil war. They tried to overthrow a pacific Parliament by a militarist *coup d'état*. In short, they behaved exactly like Mussolini; or rather they did the very worst that has ever been attributed to Mussolini; and without a rag of his theoretical excuse.

And what did Liberalism say? What did my dear old organ of liberty and peaceful citizenship say?

Naturally, I assumed on opening the paper that it would rally to the defense of Parliament and peaceful representative government, and rebuke the attempt to make a minority dominant by mere military violence.

Judge of my astonishment when I found it lamenting aloud over the unfortunate failure of these Socialistic Fascists to reverse the result of a general election.

I had been a Liberal in the old Liberal days; we were not unacquainted with Tory and Unionists victories at the polls; we had often gone contentedly into Opposition. It had never been suggested that when Balfour or Bald-

win constitutionally became Prime Ministers, all the Non-conformists should go out with guns and bayonets to reverse the popular vote; or the Leader of the Opposition begin to throw dynamite at the elected Leader of the House. The only inference was that Liberalism was only opposed to militarists when they were Fascists; and entirely approved of Fascists so long as they were Socialists.

Now that is a small and purely political point. But to me it was very awakening. It showed me quite clearly the fundamental truth of the modern world. And that is this: that there are no Fascists; there are no Socialists; there are no Liberals; there are no parliamentarians. There is the one supremely inspiring and irritating institution in the world; and there are its enemies. Its enemies are ready to be for violence or against violence, for liberty or against liberty, for representation or against representation; and even for peace or against peace.

It gave me an entirely new certainty, even in the practical and political sense, that I had chosen well.

The Women's Way

THEODORE MAYNARD

WE all know of how perennial an interest are stories of conversion. From the days of St. Augustine almost every man of letters who has come into the Catholic Church has felt constrained to explain why he has taken the step. It is true that sometimes these accounts are written long after the event, and under the impulse of a necessity not to be avoided, as in the case of Newman's "Apologia." But far more frequently such books are the first fruits of conversion. Dr. Kinsman wrote (but did not publish) his, it will be recalled, before he had actually made his submission: this was his way of clarifying all the issues for his own mind. Arnold Lunn began at two further removes: first by means of an exchange of letters with Father Ronald Knox, in which he defended his Protestantism; next by an exchange of letters with Professor Joad, in which he defended Christianity (mainly with Catholic arguments drawn from Father Knox); finally as a Catholic in "Now I See." But looking back he must perceive that his Protestant stand was lost the day of his first controversy.

Though all stories of conversion are interesting, they vary a great deal in importance. Sometimes, too, those from whom we expected most turn out to be a little disappointing, as in the case of Chesterton. But that is probably due to the fact that, while Chesterton has a boundless appetite for debate, he is too shy a man to relish anything in the form of a confession. There, however, the long line of these books stands: Msgr. Benson's, Father Knox's, Dr. Orchard's, Mr. Hoffman's—and all the others. The curious thing is that among them all I cannot recall one written by a woman. Sheila Kaye-Smith, it is true, wrote an article about her conversion from High Anglicanism for the *Dublin Review*, but even she avoided a book.

It would be interesting to inquire why this should be the case. Can it be that men are more fond than women of talking about themselves? Perhaps; yet I do not believe that that is the real explanation. For such stories do not give one the impression that their writers were actuated by egotism. Rather, I think, it is that men, by their nature, are strongly inclined to argue about doctrine, and that women are not. Further, it might be said that the conversion of women is a more purely *religious* affair than is the conversion of men, that they more readily respond to the appeal of holiness. The one sex is persuaded, the other convinced; though for women as for men both head and heart must coincide before the conversion is complete. It would seem, however, as though among converts a masculine taste for theology can be indulged, but what women might tell us is not easily to be told, and too sacred to be displayed.

Of converts among literary women in recent times, I suppose it would be admitted that Alice Meynell and Sigrid Undset are the two most distinguished. Now, as it happens, we have their reasons for becoming Catholics; and the reasons are much the same: in each case the Church as the guardian of morals, rather than the Church as the guardian of dogma, drew their adhesion.

Mrs. Meynell, in a letter to a friend which is included in her daughter Viola's "Memoir," confesses: "I have told you how incapable I am of philosophy—indeed of theological sense." She is too deprecatory: such bits of theology as she has in her poetry are very clear and precise; still it is true that not Catholic philosophy but Catholic piety is the main substance of her religious verse. Further in a letter to her daughter Olivia she writes:

I saw, when I was very young, that a guide in morals was even more necessary than a guide in faith. It was for this I joined the Church. Other Christian societies may legislate, but the Church *administers* legislation. Thus she is practically indispensable. I may say that I hold the administration of morals to be of such vital importance that for its sake I accepted, and now accept, dogma in matters of faith—to the last letter. To make my preachment clearer: right and wrong (morals) are the most important, or only important, things men know or can know. Everything depends on them. Christian morality is infinitely the greatest of moralities. This we know by our own sense and intellect, without other guidance. The Church administers that morality, as no other sect does or can do, by means of moral theology. The world is far from living up to that ideal, but it is the only ideal worth living up to.

Could anything be more explicit?

Sigrid Undset has touched upon the same question in her "Reply to a Parish Priest," one of the essays in her recent book, "Stages on the Road." Previously in her novels she had shown herself as primarily a moralist, the difficulties of her characters being moral, not intellectual. One might of course expect this in her great medieval romances about a society quite untouched by heresy. But it is almost equally so in the case of her more recent books about present conditions in Scandinavia.

From her novels, however, we can do no more than infer the disposition of her own character. In the recently published essay she discusses her personal case, and with

extraordinary frankness. She tells how many of her generation began to be agnostics as soon as they began to go to school, with skepticism so complete that they did not venture to have an opinion one way or other as to the existence of God or the life after death. Yet morality, she came by experience to discover, is socially necessary—and impossible without the supernatural.

She bluntly asserts that every Catholic must be aware that "if his (her) marriage were built upon no other foundation than mutual affection and respect, there would be nothing unreasonable in his (her) partner preferring, at any rate now and again, almost any other man (woman) of their circle of acquaintance."

To a friend who asked her, "Tell me, Sigrid, do you believe at all that a woman *can* be true to a man?" she made the decided answer: "No, I don't. I not only believe but know that a woman can be true till death, if she has an ideal which demands her fidelity. But true to a man—no, I don't believe any woman can be that." Why, she asks, with a candor that sounds almost cynical, should a woman be true to a man—seeing what men are? Or a man true to a woman, seeing what women are? For the reason that fidelity must somehow be maintained, she has accepted the only thing able to maintain it—Catholic doctrine:

We must try to make this clear to ourselves—we have no right to assume that any part of European tradition, cultural values, moral ideas, emotional wealth, which has its origin in the dogmatically defined Christianity of the Catholic Church, will continue to live a "natural" life if the people of Europe reject Christianity and refuse to accept God's supernatural grace.

Like Mrs. Meynell, Fröken Undset of course fully accepts Catholic dogma—indeed she perceives that morals are a corollary of dogma, but she makes it perfectly plain that she has come into the Church primarily because only there can morals be, as Mrs. Meynell puts it, "administered."

It would be foolish for me to try to segregate men and women from one another on this or on any other question. All converts, of whatever sex, have moral as well as intellectual perplexities; both have hearts as well as heads, intuitions as well as historical or logical reasons. Nevertheless, being a man, I indulge myself with a generality, for what it is worth. The speculative principle, which I take to be mainly masculine, is concerned with faith; the practical instinct of women with morals. I do not mean that faith and the practice of virtue are to be put in water-tight compartments. In fact, as we know, they are closely interdependent. All the same, men are inclined to lay the emphasis on one, women on the other. The speculative sex, upon conversion, finds plenty of abstractions to talk about. The concrete realities of right and wrong are not so susceptible of discussion.

Sigrid Undset has shown a great deal of courage in being so frank. To find out what else she has to say on the subject we must go to her novels. We may be reasonably sure that she will never write a book giving any further personal explanation as to how it happened that she has become a Catholic.

The "Subtle" Japanese

BRUCE COLIN MACIVOR

IT has been somewhat the custom or the practice of interested parties whose purpose it is to use the United States as a buffer between themselves and Japan to represent the Japanese as a very subtle people and therefore one on whose actions we should look with suspicion. This suspicious attitude so carefully fostered is calculated to make the American public anti-Japanese and, insofar as it does that, it is a pro-war attitude. In view of this attempt made on the American mind, it might be well to look into this charge of alleged subtlety. Should it be found to be non-existent, this may go far both to create a more peaceful mentality and at the same time to unmask the motives of those who foster the picture of subtlety.

There was, for instance, the affair of the night of September 18, 1931, just outside Mukden and all that followed after. It was about 10:30 P.M. that night that a few yards of the Japanese-owned South Manchuria Railway track were blown up, as a coroner's jury might phrase it, "by a person or persons unknown." From this affair grew the argument which carried Japan out of the League of Nations and ended with the establishment of Manchukuo in flat defiance of world opinion. Determined, aggressive, and decisive it certainly was; in the light of certain unpleasant facts of Far Eastern politics it was possibly justifiable on the grounds of national and military necessity or expediency; but there was most definitely nothing subtle in the start, the methods, or the conclusion of this chain of incidents.

This becomes all the more evident when examination shows that Japan really had strong provocation, and that she had previously exercised an unusual degree of patience in the face of numerous floutings of her rights and of the rights of her people. She took what she considered the only effective course to protect her rights and the safety of some of her subjects.

Yet the Japanese missed no opportunity to put themselves in the wrong from start to finish. Instead of consulting the other signatories to the Nine Power Treaty, the Army was allowed to take drastic action in open defiance of the letter and the spirit of that pact. In the League meetings, every effort to bring a peaceful solution was effectively blocked by steadily increasing insistence on direct negotiations with the Chinese, who quite obviously had no intention of falling in with a suggestion which involved giving up their valuable strategic position as the injured party.

Finally, a relatively subordinate naval commander's stupid blunder at Shanghai was allowed, for reasons of "face," to launch Japan upon a military venture of a highly dangerous kind, which we are told was most unwelcome to the Japanese Army high command. This Shanghai mess, at a critical moment, forced the diversion of large numbers of troops from the Manchurian operations to an attack inevitably devoid of military value.

While Japan thus marched from blunder to blunder, Soviet Russia, under the guidance of her astute foreign minister, M. Litvinov, moved along Stalin's revised road to Lenin's old unchanged objective, world revolution. Quite unable to resume the old Czarist policies in eastern Asia, she made a virtue of necessity and encouraged the Chinese anti-foreign agitation. She voluntarily gave up extra-territoriality, a right which the revolution had made valuable only to thousands of exiled White Russians, bitter enemies of the revolution.

This pose as China's friend was finally upset by Chiang Kai-shek's decisive use of the opportunity presented by the Nanking outrages to drive out of the country the Communist leader, Michael Borodin. Notwithstanding this very severe defeat, the Soviets were too strongly entrenched to be ousted from Mongolia. With bland disregard of all their previous protestations about imperialism, the Soviet Government set up at Urga remains unshaken to this day, thereby slicing away from the Chinese territory, as it is shown on most maps, a vast area of several hundred-thousand square miles. The Soviet Government was fully aware of Chinese inability to interfere with them, but was keenly alive to the fact that a conflict with the power of Japan might well shove their frontier back to Lake Baikal.

The Soviets had inherited certain rights and privileges in North Manchuria from the Czarist regime. True, they were "imperialist" rights, but that fact had not prevented enforcing their observance by military invasion in 1929. However, after the Japanese had dealt with young Chang Hsueh-liang in 1931 even more decisively than the Soviets had done in 1929, the latter promptly recognized that they now had an antagonist of very different caliber.

With surprising complacency, they permitted the advance of the Japanese to Harbin, north across the Chinese Eastern to Tsitsihar and finally to the very borders of Siberia. This advance wiped out very definitely the old Russian sphere of influence in Manchuria, and quite obviously made possession of the Chinese Eastern Railway, or of an interest in it, a dubious asset of rapidly dwindling value, both strategically and economically. With the realism that has always distinguished Soviet foreign policy, they promptly offered to sell their rights in the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan.

It will be observed that, by a series of maneuvers, Soviet Russia offended only a people without effective means of retaliation, temporarily avoided open conflict with a dangerous enemy, and salvaged everything possible of material value. She made various contributions to world peace at no cost to herself, since she gave up only that to which her claim was uncertain or which she would certainly have lost in the near future and at greater attendant cost.

Her able Foreign Minister improved the occasion fur-

ther with negotiation of various non-aggression pacts, one of which was, incidentally, offered to and rejected by the Japanese—a rejection which perhaps fully explains the inconsistency of so ardent a disciple of world peace maintaining and constantly improving the equipment of one of the two most powerful military establishments in the world. M. Litvinov then took up vigorously the Eastern Locarno, secured entrance into the League of Nations from which Japan had withdrawn, and finally crowned his work with recognition of the Soviet Government by the Government of the United States on November 16, 1933.

Possibly Washington did not fully realize at the time one aspect to this recognition, an aspect of considerable importance in Oriental diplomacy. By recognizing the Soviets we confessed the futility of a policy of non-recognition which we had pursued for sixteen years. That it had to be done sooner or later may be conceded, but it was singularly unfortunate that it was done in the year following the enunciation of the Hoover-Stimson non-recognition policy toward Manchukuo.

Dr. Raymond Leslie Buell, Research Director of the Foreign Policy Association, in an article published shortly after the announcement of our views on Manchukuo, laid his finger on the weakness of the situation when he wrote:

Now the aim of the United States in opposing revolution and Communism, as well as the new state of Manchuria, may be entirely justified. But events have forcibly demonstrated that "non-recognition" does not accomplish the desired result. Thus Soviet Russia is flourishing today despite the fact that it has not obtained Washington's "recognition."

When we granted that recognition, we advertised the failure of the policy, at a moment when we had just invoked it in a new situation. Such action was bound to cause us to "lose face" in the Orient, since we certainly received no compensation in return for something which the other side had sought for over a decade. As we had already lost some face in dealing with Japan, it is small wonder, the Oriental mind being what it is, that the Japanese attitude at the subsequent futile naval conversations in London was so utterly uncompromising from the very beginning.

Japan's activities at London from October to December last year, her attempts to play America against England, and her monumental stupidity in forcing the Manchukuo oil monopoly at that time were evidence of anything but subtlety. Possibly this unyielding aggressiveness was in part due to Oriental exaggeration of the importance of our "lost face." If so, the equally uncompromising American attitude was the correct move, the only proper line to take with an eye to our bargaining power and prestige in that part of the world.

In fact, it is curious (and somewhat disquieting, also) to note that in one respect the Japanese and the Americans are very similar. They are each thoroughly imbued with a view of their own importance to the world and of their own righteousness and high purpose. It seems almost invariably true that a nation convinced of its own self-righteousness in this way is exceedingly self-centered

and single-track minded. Our recently launched silver-purchase policy was a good example of the single-track phase.

When we launched that economically fatuous scheme, we most unhappily combined unsound economics with callous disregard of the interests of a friendly people, the Chinese, already struggling with more than enough of troubles, both external and internal. Already our failure in 1931 and 1932 to back up our strong words by the action which alone would have given them reality was a terrible blow to many Chinese. It was useless to explain to them that it was "no American pidgin" to fight China's battle against Japan. We had spoken great words; we had, contrary to Confucian precept, exalted ourselves; but in deeds we had proved very little indeed. We had, in short, lost "face" with our old friends, the Chinese, and they had lost face because they had relied on us.

In many thoughtful Chinese quarters our silver policy cannot fail of interpretation as a deliberate act of American policy on a par with Soviet Russia's calculating self-advancement. Unfortunately, it cannot claim even this unenviable distinction, for it is all too evident that, like Japan, as a nation we have just blundered along, considering only our home politics. If Japan does not seize this opportunity to preach another and effective sermon on Asia for the Asiatics, and that all western nations are robbers, we shall have to thank that inscrutable Providence which has withheld from the Japanese true subtlety, even as it has been withheld from ourselves.

We cannot hope that our Soviet friends will be so obtuse, for the whole silver agitation is typical of that inherent weakness of capitalism upon which Communism, with clear foresight, has always relied. That weakness is the lack of a clear philosophy of national action. It is a weakness which handicaps us against both Japan and Russia. Both these nations have a consistent national philosophy, supported by strict discipline and religious fervor—the one embodied in Lenin's Communism, the other a complex compound of Bushido (the Code or the Way of the Warrior), Confucian thought, and the Shinto faith, in which compound, at the moment, the spirit of Bushido seems dominant.

While, like the rest of the Occidental capitalist world, we seem devoid of a real philosophy in our conduct of affairs, of all the western Powers no nation has the latent spiritual resources of America, steeped in materialism though many deem us to be. The advice of two great minds of the Church from centuries ago may well point the way to a successful American foreign policy in a very material world. Thomas Aquinas advised seeking out and proving facts; St. Ignatius preached and practised inward searching before setting out to save the world. By adopting both suggestions, we shall go far toward avoiding some of the dangers of misunderstanding with a people handicapped by certain distorted ideas and a very inflexible mentality, but sincere in their beliefs and suspicions, while we may also side-step the enticements of perhaps the most truly subtle of all the world's governments of today.

The Washington Scene

JOSEPH F. THORNING, S.J.
Special Correspondent of AMERICA

II. What Happened in the Senate

DURING the World Court debate in the Senate the question most frequently propounded in the corridors, cloakrooms, and committee rooms of the Capitol was: "Why did President Roosevelt want to ratify the protocols of adherence to the Court at this time?" What was the strategy of injecting this issue into a session of the Congress especially dedicated to the purposes of domestic recovery? Why all this interest in Europe by a Chief Executive who had at the time of the World Economic Conference proclaimed in that historic telegram from the cruiser Indianapolis that America would "go it alone"?

The key to the riddle must be sought in the constant pressure which a number of influential peace organizations have been able to exert within the confines of both the White House and the State Department. For years certain groups with or without church affiliations have been urging America's entrance into the Permanent Court of International Justice. Nor has the campaign been restricted to Washington. Week after week in the great metropolitan centers peace leaders and peace advocates have pleaded for wider international cooperation. The World Court naturally was placed first on the list of agenda. This was regarded as the minimum measure of American collaboration required imperatively by the exigencies of the present hour. It was felt that unless an initial step were taken toward the judicial settlement of international disputes there would be no further consolidation of a world order. The Conference on the Cause and Cure of War, the World Alliance for Christian Friendship Through the Churches, the National Council for the Prevention of War, the Catholic Association for International Peace, and almost all the State Bar Associations had gone on record as favoring United States support of the new Hague institution. In some localities, a species of precinct organization had been inaugurated in order that the voting strength of peace advocates could be mustered for or against Congressional representatives known for their activity or apathy with respect to peace policy. It goes without saying that many Senators in pre-election fights had been pledged in this way to vote for United States ratification of the World Court protocols. The headquarters of most American peace movements, of course, are to be found in the Capital.

Now the existence of this powerful organization for peace and the presence of an active World Court lobby in Washington was well known to the President of the United States. Furthermore, he was familiar with the platform of his own party which had formally pledged itself to ratification, while he could not have been unaware that the Republican national plank on this subject advocated adherence without any reservations. By every po-

litical sign and prognostication there was a substantial body of peace-minded citizens, who independently of party lines were eager to broaden the bases of American cooperation with the rest of the world and who, although not regarding the World Court either as a perfect institution or a cure-all for war, considered it one necessary step on the long, rocky road of world collaboration. In other words, the peace organizations and the people they represented had made themselves not only articulate but influential as a non-partisan political force of considerable impact and momentum.

To disregard public opinion thus organized and clearly expressed would have been for a politician and statesman as astute as President Roosevelt an unqualified mistake. Since the Root formula for United States adherence to the Court took most of the sting out of the measure the President naturally concluded that it would encounter little or no opposition except from a small group of "irreconcilables." Incidentally, the debate would smooth over the interval between the discussion of the work-relief bill in the House and its introduction into the Senate. In fine, the World Court would furnish a little harmless distraction for the upper chamber. At the same time, the peace organizations would be conciliated. Adherence to the Court would win for the Administration the good will, support, and confidence of millions of Americans who were dissatisfied with the traditional policy of isolation.

The World Court gesture, it was hoped, would have the double effect of pleasing both sides. Although not so sharply controversial an issue as the League of Nations it would gratify the friends of that institution without arousing excessive antagonism among its enemies. The latter, counting many avowed nationalists, were thought to be completely conciliated by definite promises of a bigger navy and more efficient air force, while the former, who had already shown they could be made happy by innocent New Year's resolutions like the Kellogg-Briand anti-war treaty, were counted upon to be more than satisfied by victory in their long battle for official participation in the World Court. It was a political vintage of the finest flavor and bouquet. Prior to the debate on the Senate floor no one dreamed that the measure had any serious chance of failure.

In this anticipated happy ending of the long-drawn-out World Court saga, the Administration leaders omitted three important elements from their calculations. The first of these was their own commitment to a policy of economic and political nationalism. The decision taken by the President at the time of the London Economic Conference was no mere gesture or short-range principle. It was the announcement of a policy well described by the French as of sweeping scope and long-range future import, *une politique d'une grande envergure*. Suspension

of gold payments solidified the national position as did the whole trend of domestic industrial and agricultural organization. The "closed-circuit," self-contained, self-sufficient mentality got an impetus and encouragement from these measures that it would be hard to exaggerate. To say that as a result we may be entering upon the "ice age" of international relations in which a glacial cap will fasten itself upon the Eastern and Western Hemispheres is a graphic description of what the era of re-intensified nationalism holds in store for us. It is easy to understand how the World Court gesture ran counter to this trend.

The second development which took President Roosevelt and his advisers unprepared was the vigorous campaign of opposition outside Congress which was organized by Father Coughlin and the Hearst press. After the radio priest's speech the Sunday prior to the final vote, it was estimated that over 200,000 telegrams reached Capitol Hill. Few arguments are more persuasive with Senators or Representatives than telegraphic communications. For some incumbents the mere sight of the yellow or blue envelope of the Western Union or Postal Telegraph is enough to make them jump half-way across the chamber. As the avalanche of telegrams descended upon Washington during the debate it was possible for those in touch with the situation literally to "feel the draught." Each hour increased the tension and strain. The Senate chamber, which early in the session had radiated warmth, congeniality, and mirth, a hearth about which gathered a happy throng of winter revelers, now seemed to have assumed the hard, glittering, cold-steel properties of a snow-encrusted lightning rod. Every time the radio lanes or telegraph wires crackled, flashes of fire and showers of sparks, metaphorically speaking, tore off the roof and scattered themselves about the room. A number of the elder statesmen privately expressed the pious wish that, like Senators Tydings, McKellar, and McAdoo, they had been dispatched on the Philippine mission. But so stern was the necessity of enlisting every ballot that even the absentees were paired, two for and one against the resolution.

Aiding and abetting these forces within Congress was the senior Senator from Louisiana, Huey P. Long. Although the veterans, Hiram Johnson and William E. Borah, led the formal fight against adherence, they were in a sense overshadowed by Senator Long. If the former settled down to a regular, workmanlike siege of the World Court tower, the gentleman from Louisiana may be said to have made the Court the object of a punishing, relentless guerilla warfare. Often enough, especially in the initial stages of the debate when the opposition fire seemed to be halting and ineffective, Senator Long was on his feet uttering some witticism against the Court or its advocates, associating League influences with real or alleged activities of the Standard Oil Company in Bolivia and Louisiana, goading the supporters of the resolution to heated rebuttals, and continually circulating among his colleagues on the floor, urging, pleading, cajoling, and joking. The Senator from Louisiana is an active and skilful, if unscrupulous parliamentarian. His series of reservations

led to a procession of similar strictures offered to curb the force of the resolution. The debate on the separate clauses proposed allowed time for the opposition to organize and head off a vote until the anti-Court members were ready for the test.

Even at the eleventh hour, when Senator George Norris, like Nestor, rose solemnly to warn the Senate against "entangling alliances," it was not clear that the resolution would fail. With the galleries crowded and many would-be spectators packed in the halls and corridors leading to the chamber, while numerous House members lined up against the walls and practically every Senator in his seat, Senator Bulow, speaking in a frail, reed-like voice, could be heard in every corner of the room. The silence was more ominous, punctured by muttered exclamations of remonstrance, when Senator Joseph Robinson tried to stem the tide against the resolution by terming Father Coughlin's radio address mistaken and misleading. He added that some Senators had been "terrified" by the telegraphic protests. There were many friends of the Detroit priest in the galleries and press box, as their applause later demonstrated. The reporters in the press gallery led the chorus of shouts for a showdown with cries of "Vote! Vote!"

On the roll call itself there were several startling upsets. Mrs. Caraway, much to the indignation of the representatives of feminine peace societies, had consistently followed her friend, Senator Huey Long, on all votes to place reservations to the resolution. When on the final ballot the lady from Arkansas uttered a soft-spoken "Aye" to the resolution, her feminine critics were surprised and thrilled, but by no means appeased. Mrs. Caraway will not be in demand at luncheons for the various International Relations Clubs next Spring.

Some idea of what it was costing the Administration to hold its lines was indicated in Senator J. Hamilton Lewis' negative vote. He, unlike Mrs. Caraway, had voted with the majority against numerous reservations proposed by the opponents of the resolutions and yet he joined the latter on the decisive roll call. Bronson Cutting was the only one of four Senators called to the White House who apparently was won over by a last-minute conference with President Roosevelt; Walsh, Gerry, and Donahey voted "No." On the other hand, both Senators from Michigan, Couzens and Vandenberg, disregarding the power of Father Coughlin in their native State as well as a telegraphed remonstrance from the Michigan Legislature, lined up with the majority in favor of ratification. McAdoo, son-in-law of Wilson, the original sponsor of the League of Nations, although absent, was paired against the resolution. Louis Murphy of Iowa, McCarran of Nevada, and Schwellenbach of Washington, swelled the total of the negative. By this time, Senator Joe Robinson, although a good loser, looked like a very unhappy man. To tell the truth, he never seemed to take much delight in leading the fight for the resolution. Quite apart from the application of Presidential pressure, his main concern seemed to be that a party pledge should be redeemed. Senator Key Pittman, who

as Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee should have carried the brunt of the battle for the bill, sat quietly in the background and, although voting in the affirmative, hardly stirred a finger to help his chief. It was a contest in which the rules of the game were suspended and where party loyalties were somewhat in abeyance.

In the light of the unexpected result on the World Court issue one conclusion is inescapable. Father Coughlin not only has caught the ear of the nation but also perfected a method of telegraphic influence over Congress that he will not hesitate to use, should the Administra-

tion program of relief and reconstruction lag or fall seriously short of his expectations. In other words, a new factor has emerged in American political life. An electric spark, motivating both wires and "wireless," has created a highly sensitive nervous system (both sensory and motor) for the modern State. Father Coughlin himself describes it as a much-needed and desirable means of giving a more widely diffused popular control over our representative democracy. Obviously, he regards the result as the first victory of his National Union for Social Justice. Who can foretell what the next will be?

Sociology

Training for Citizenship

E. J. Ross

A CATHOLIC with a knowledge of sociology and economics can be an immense force for good in these troublesome days. Catholicism alone has a sound philosophy to offer as a basis for the solution of our social and economic ills.

Yet only too frequently the Catholic is ignorant of, or forgets, the fact that not only has he a religious duty to take a stand against the evils in society, but he has a grave duty as a citizen to work for the good of the state. If he recognizes his social duties at all, he is often merely a negative influence. He condemns wrong measures when urged by his Catholic weekly or his parish priest, but he does so without any substantial reasons for the stand he takes, and with no offer of constructive criticism. He needs specific training and knowledge if he is to vote intelligently, protest against wrong measures, hold his own when arguments arise, even to read between the lines of his daily paper, and discern propaganda and interests from sound doctrine. Above all does he need such training and knowledge if he is to rise beyond this negative stage, if he is to win the respect of others, and become a civil leader with concrete proposals for our social needs.

But where can the average Catholic man and woman obtain the necessary knowledge for active cooperation in political affairs? Where can he learn reasons which will convince "the other man" that the philosophies behind both state absolutism and Socialism are utterly false, despite their current popularity the world over? Where can he learn the dangers of too great a socialization of the services to the poor and the sick, the disabled and the deficient, who are being increasingly cared for by public authorities instead of private agencies? Does he know not only the moral arguments against birth control and the sterilization of the criminal and the defective, but also the social and material reasons against them? Where can he come to know the function and the import of the primary societies of family, state, religious society, occupational society, international society? Can he delimit the rights and duties of each one? And in a general way, has the average Catholic any clear conception of

his true place in social life, of his own social duties and his social rights?

It is a fact that in the past our Catholic educators have seriously neglected studies of the gravest import. Are the Socialists and materialists to be allowed to continue to educate leaders amongst our workers, whilst the Catholic is unprovided for? An important apostolate awaits our Catholic workers. Can we afford to continue to deprive them of the knowledge necessary for its exercise?

There are few places where such social knowledge can be obtained. Those that do exist have a purely local appeal. An occasional sermon may give some enlightenment on civic matters, but is necessarily a rarity. The parish study club is a recent development, still too infrequently found, and often devoted to more religious topics. Social studies are taught in a fair number of our Catholic colleges, but only a very small percentage of the high-school graduates pass on to a college course, and the majority of our workers do not attain twelfth-grade rank.

On the high school, indeed, must devolve the major task of training Catholics to be true citizens of the state, and of giving them not only a foundational knowledge of social and economic subjects, but also a true love of the social duties and responsibilities of intelligent citizens. Parish study clubs are a vital need for those adults who did not obtain this necessary knowledge in the classroom, and are unwilling to run the gamut of red tape and expense involved in the formal night school.

How to give this training is the next question. In the high school the answer is fairly simple. Although a recent survey by the Bruce Publishing Company of Milwaukee suggests that less than 100 of our Catholic high schools have anything like a course in sociology, the inclusion of social studies in the high school is being increasingly advocated by educational authorities. Where no provision is made for these studies, they can take the place of a history course, or even of formal religion in fourth-year high.

Most important is it to arouse in students a vital interest in social and civic affairs, so that the sheer fascination of the subject will carry them over the duller foundational

work. Their practical minds will thrill to a discussion of working conditions and a living wage, and they will readily see the justice of the worker's rights, and as readily come to recognize the employer's viewpoint also. Teaching them man's natural right to the ownership of private property will be an easy matter if they are shown the import of such knowledge at the present time. A visit to a local Federal Reserve Bank or industrial plant will give them an interest in and a knowledge of banking and industry which they could not otherwise possess. Local means of relieving poverty, of dealing with the delinquent, of caring for the sick, the deaf, and other handicapped, will be studied with the greatest attention if field trips are made, or special topics assigned for class discussion. The living aspect of the subject, and its practical bearing on everyday life is bound to make its permanent appeal, if the presentation is a correct one.

If the teacher is not fully equipped to teach these subjects, a temporary solution is not difficult to come by. I suggest some hours of private reading of appropriate Catholic college books and the standard secular references; the use of a Catholic high-school text with a teachers' manual for specific help; a vital interest in the current Catholic and secular press to ensure the practical application of principles stated; and finally an ever-present appreciation of the true reason for teaching the subject at all—the training of intelligent Catholic citizens of the state: Catholic action in its most concrete form. Most of our Catholic colleges now provide courses in sociology and economics in extension work and summer schools, so the requisite teaching "credits" will not be hard to gain.

Teaching social questions in a parish study club is a different problem. First a director must be found whose practical knowledge will win the group's respect, and whose presentation will ensure their attention and continued interest. If the parish priest himself has not the requisite practical knowledge, or lacks the time, and if a sufficiently instructed business man or woman is not available, then it would seem that the priest should find someone willing to train himself to give a course on the same lines outlined for the high-school. Whoever is chosen must realize, however, that adults who voluntarily undertake to join a study club will wish to make immediate use of their studies. The past does not interest them so much as what is actually happening in the present. Much of the practical knowledge they will already have, in a half-assimilated form, and they will want to be enabled to go to their workshop or office the next day and start an argument on some current matter in which their newly acquired knowledge can successfully be put to the test. Their questions will be pointed, too. A study-club director, therefore, must have a deep knowledge of foundational principles, but in addition he must be thoroughly acquainted with practical problems of the day, and just and open minded in discussions.

Once the instructor is found, the next problem is to get a group together. Of most importance is the realization that best work will be done with a small group of persons really anxious to learn, than with a larger one

whose members have been more or less dragooned into attendance. A study group composed of persons of different ages, occupations, interests, and education, must necessarily be small if it is to be of value in citizen training. A brief talk on a well-defined topic, followed by discussion on this and other matters of interest to the group, is usually most productive of results. And most study clubs find it best to assign specific reading at each meeting, for questions and discussion at the next. As to how to obtain the first members: a talk from the pulpit might be made, stressing the valuable Catholic Action work to be accomplished, and the knowledge of current matters which will be acquired by those who join the group; an interest-arousing notice might be placed in the local Catholic press; the priest or a prominent layman might make a personal visit to those whose interest it is especially desired to enlist.

An enlightened laity will eliminate much of the danger of modern social and economic trends. We must think no task too hard that helps to prepare the laity to live up to their full duty as citizens.

Education

The Decalogue or McGuffey's Readers?

D. C. LAWLESS

OUT of the mouths of our opponents recently came a striking defense of the Catholic stand on the education of youth. It sprang from a series of incidents naively reported in the newspapers, and it advertised our main principle without reserve—at least before the lapse was discovered.

The school board of a certain township in Ohio had contracted with a traction company for bus transportation of its students to one of the high schools of the neighboring city. After paying for some time an extra sixty dollars a month for damages done to the busses by the students, the board canceled the contract and let the offenders get to school as they could. The damages consisted in smashing windows, cutting initials in the leather upholstery, and in acts of rowdiness that moved the drivers to refuse to operate the busses.

I had been musing over reports of the city parent-teacher meetings when I read this story of the ruffianism of their suburban guests. Though the parents-teachers had doubtless been conferring on graver evils than the destruction of property, it took these overt acts that were well publicized to stir them to focus their deliberations. At a city-wide meeting one speaker pointed out the increase in crime and argued for training in the schools as a means of combating it. "It would be better to spend more time and money to train boys and girls correctly, than to spend much more to reform them." And this speaker became specific. She urged "Christian instruction as a foundation for child character training," and proposed the Ten Commandments as the basis of such instruction in the schools. She emphasized instruction and training, not mere reading, and cited the necessity

of constant repetition of subject matter in secular teaching as an argument for the constant repetition of lessons necessary to build strong, clean characters. This woman must have made a profound impression, for, despite a debate on the advisability of mixing education and religion, and despite the antagonism of her ideas to the fixed tradition of the public schools, the meeting voted by a majority of almost sixty per cent to petition the board of education to add to the curriculum of the primary schools a course in moral training based on the teaching of the Ten Commandments.

But by what authority? Isn't that why these same Ohio parents opposed the payment to private schools of even a small part of the taxes levied on their patrons, namely, because such schools taught religion? Then, what sanction would support the Decalogue in public schools? A vast number of their patrons either believe the Bible to be a collection of legends and pious sentiments, or differ in the interpretation of the Ten Commandments as applied to conduct, while the speaker I have just quoted proposed the Commandments because there was no better code of morals available. However, the earnestness and anxiety of these parents is worthy of our respect, even when they propose an inadequate and impracticable solution of their problem. We have to thank them for unwittingly calling the attention of weak-kneed Catholics to the fact that their Church has the right solution for her children—schools where education is based on religion.

But, to return to the press, mark what happened. When the parent-teacher associates cooled off, and found that in their ardor they had run up against a stone wall, they began to seek for substitutes for the Decalogue and Christian religious instruction. The lack of moral tone in the schools was admitted by the highest authority among them, and there was an irresistible urge to do something about it. Some one suggested McGuffey's Readers.

There was a set, presented by Henry Ford, in one of the high-school libraries. These were thumbed over for moral and literary qualities. It was recalled that there was a strong McGuffey tradition; only the Bible surpassed the Readers in moral influence on past generations of Americans; many of the beneficiaries of the Readers were still living to testify. The books presented choice selections from the classics, "breathing the spirit of liberty and good will." How about McGuffey's Readers to regenerate the youth of America?

It were crude to satirize the good impulses of well-meaning people involved in a terrible problem. We realize that even our own schools, guided by religious principles, have some tough nuts to crack. But parents and teachers cannot learn too soon that belles-lettres never created morality or cultivated virtue. There has to be something deeper in composition than literature, something deeper in the reader than appreciation, and faith in a Being outside of and beyond authors and readers. Who is Authority to both, before you can begin to quell the turbulent passions that today disquiet teachers, to put it mildly, and make parents miserable. To

read McGuffey's gems, or even the Bible, when God and conscience, faith, dogma and authority, grace, will and cooperation, are not realities, but mere notions (and out-moded notions at that), to most all concerned, is mere paltering.

This series of incidents, fully reported in the papers, has its obvious lesson for Catholics. Every time good people outside the Church squirm in this straitjacket of the ethical problem of the schools that lesson is thrown into higher relief. *Catholic children belong in Catholic schools.* There alone can they absorb that which non-Catholics admit the public schools have not, but which they eagerly desire, debate about, experiment for, and finally give up; the effect of religion on character.

With Scrip and Staff

DIVINE discontent, according to Richard Reid, in his address last May to the annual convention of the Catholic Press Association, is to be found in the hearts of those devoting their lives to the Catholic press. No men are more conscious of the task that lies immediately before them, which, said Mr. Reid, "is to convince our Catholic people, . . . to make our Catholic people and to make our nation's advertisers Catholic Press conscious."

Discontent arises from the hiatus between desire and achievement. But there is comfort at the outset of such a task in the thought that the Visible Head of Christendom is himself Catholic-press conscious. Only yesterday the Pilgrim received a letter from an associate editor of one of the world's best known Catholic periodicals, who had enjoyed very recently an audience with the Holy Father. "On the Pope's desk," he wrote, "was a copy of our review; and he happened to be reading my article as I entered his presence. The Holy Father informed me that he always reads the magazine." I am noting this not to give a boost for my friend or his review, since you observe that I discreetly omit the name of both, but merely to confirm the fact which Mr. Reid himself testified to as a result of his audience with the Holy Father:

The Holy Father is frequently called the Pope of the Catholic press; his lively interest in the Catholic press, his comprehensive knowledge of it in our own country, his sympathy with its problems and his desire to assist it, as indicated by his inquiries and his observations in the course of the audience, revealed how eminently merited is this title. . . .

The Pope's final words to Mr. Reid were: "The Catholic press is my voice. I do not say that it makes my voice heard, but it is my voice itself."

DURING the past year, AMERICA and the Pilgrim noted the rising of several new constellations upon the horizon of Catholic popular journals of opinion. One of these, the *Revista Javeriana*, of Bogotá, Colombia, returned the compliment by quoting in AMERICA's instance the saying: *Homo sum; nihil humanum a me alienum puto.* "In the midst of a busy world of business and

enterprise," writes the editor of that review, "AMERICA discovers that nothing human is apart from the interests of the Church of God."

Naturally there will be differing interpretations of the idea, "everything human." This will depend upon circumstances, upon the need that the particular periodical is called to supply. A Catholic daily, where such exists, will supply information upon a multitude of purely secular matters, in order to fulfil its function as a general daily paper. But all "human things" in the stricter sense, that is to say all things that really concern the destiny of man, the progress of humanity as such, are always the concern of the Catholic press.

The first number (January, 1935) of the *New Review*, of Calcutta, India, published by Macmillan, establishes the human touch by explaining, in its opening editorial, the relation between human and Divine glory in the terms of Indian philosophy, based upon the theme that man of his nature tends to glory, but that only his sharing in the Divine glory can satisfy that innate desire. The *New Review* ranges over a wide human field, and one near to its readers: Mahatma Gandhi, the proposed Economic Council for India, quaint episodes in the native marriage customs, Indian literary chronicle, etc. It is a welcome addition to our company.

PARADOXICAL as it is, if we were more philosophical we should be more human. This is pointed out by Dr. Francis E. McMahon, Ph.D., instructor in philosophy at the University of Notre Dame, in the *Notre Dame Alumnus* for January, 1935. Philosophy, says Dr. McMahon, is the most natural kind of knowledge.

Just as the eye is ordained to perceiving color, and the ear sound, so the intellect naturally turns to *being*. Deprive the intellect of this knowledge of *being as such*, you deprive it of that which is most akin to it. You cripple it. And given the most minute knowledge of a thing, if one cannot decide where in the *sphere of being* that thing belongs, one cannot be said really to know what it is.

To return to the Holy Father. In his letter of October 18, 1934, to Father Augustine Gemelli, O.F.M., editor of another Catholic periodical, *Revista di Filosofia Neo-Scholastica*, Pope Pius XI noted the human significance of scholastic philosophy, the *philosophia perennis*: "Holding a middle course between extremes, it is completely focused upon man's genuine nature viewed in its entirety" (*mediam profecto tenens viam inter extremas, quae ad sinceram hominis naturam integre spectat*).

Because of its firm basis in philosophy the Catholic press, in the words of Msgr. Ready of the N. C. W. C., "raises the one voice in America today to say that Christian character is now America's chief frozen asset."

The Catholic press, says the *Southwest Courier*, of Oklahoma, is "the courier of the world's greatest mother—the Church." According to *Ora et Labora*, the international organization for the promotion of the Catholic Press, centered at Toledo, Spain, the principal factors for the success of Catholic press day, which in this country is on February 24, are "Prayer, Propaganda, and Collections." All three are indispensable.

THE following boners, derived from examinations in Political History by the University of Bombay, show the truth of another old maxim: *humanum est errare*:

Pitt did not provide the armies with warm overcoats and nor did he provide those who were fighting in bug-ridden countries with boots.

The Americans drowned the teaships of the British at Bosnia.

The navy was at first successful but with the submission of the British Admiral at Saratoga to Washington's army, the army lost verve.

Irishmen were seething with the inferiority complexion.

General Brandywine played havoc.

The poetry of Byron and Shelly went hard with Castle-reagh and he committed suicide.

The Americans levelled their best to make their success at all costs.

After all, what we can do but level our best?

THE PILGRIM.

Literature

An Author Plans an Article

FRANCIS TALBOT, S.J.

AT the last break in this series of articles on the processes of authorship, the enigma of the inspirational flash that begets a poem, of the upspringing plot for a short story, of the genesis of a theme for a novel, of the recognition of an idea for an article, was unriddled, if not wholly, certainly hopefully. I labored to discover the remote and the proximate mental accidents which led up to or caused a brain to formulate a thought suitable for expression in writing; and furthermore, to discover when, precisely, that thought was recognized as suitable for an article or a story. It may be assumed, then, that the germ idea for a piece of literature exists and is fixed.

In some future instalment, perhaps, I may be presumptuous enough to explore the meanderings of a poet's mind in the development of a poetic inspiration, and arrogant enough to investigate the stages which a fiction writer traverses in the composition of a plot. For the present, I shall confine my observations to those things which I know best, namely the development of the thought for a magazine article.

An accomplished, a professional writer seldom pauses to record the stream of consciousness from the origin of an idea till the last word of an article is closed with a period. He is too much engaged in being finished with the labor. He acts habitually, in a routine. It is only when the question is proposed to him that he analyzes his methods. And then, the development of an idea in an article is partly conscious and partly unconscious, it is punctuated by spurts or paced by a tortoise. So that, to draw up rules and lay down prescriptions for the young writer's guidance may be useful only in providing me with a pleasant occupation.

Granted, then, that the germ idea for an essay is in the mind of the writer and that the idea has taken the form of a proposition, something to be explained, something to be described, something to be expounded, some-

thing to be established, something to be proved, how does the writer further progress? Some authors to whom I have listened, assert that they progress, and that is all there is to it. They are so proficient, they are so much masters of their thoughts and their words, they are so very crammed with their subject that they only need think about their first sentence, or at the most, their first two sentences; then the article flows serenely on to its ultimate stop. Essays are written that way; by way of exceptional cases, they may not reveal that they have been written that way; for they occasionally read as if they were executed with adequate care.

I do not include among these phenomenal writers, rather geniuses, the author who writes an article, without notes and jottings, but with meditation on the subject completed. I know many authors who say that they seat themselves before their typewriter, or with pen in hand and blank sheets on the desk, and, otherwise unaided, proceed to write the required number of paragraphs. These, however, confess that they have given thought to the contents of their article and that the material has been sifting itself about, so that the mental faculties are primed to work in coordination and the article unrolls itself naturally, almost automatically.

Subjecting the rapid convolutions of an author's brain to a slow-motion picture, I would distinguish several stages in the development of a normal article. In this, I would attempt to make a composite picture of the normal authors at work. The first stage, after the topic for an article has manifested itself within the mind, is that of discovering what is known about the topic, or rather, about the particular phase of the topic that is to be stressed. The subject itself, and the precise angle of it, is lucidly clear. If it is not, the young author and his older brother should not attempt to write about it.

The subject, then, is expressed in a very definite proposition. But the aura about the proposition, as yet, is cloudy, like a bright electric light in a heavy mist. The writer has vague notions about how the proposition will grow, say from ten words to a thousand or two thousand words. Vaguer than what he will actually say is the form and sequence in what he will say. The mind is functioning, though, it is cerebrating, mechanically and mostly unconsciously, on this proposition. The mind, if I may so express it, is accumulating about the proposition idea other kindred ideas, it is reaching out for new relations, new aspects, for all that is in any way pertinent. Things cognate group themselves and inspire more cognate things. The idea lives, it grows, it evolves in the darkness of the brain without making itself very manifest to the author. In some mysterious way, the proposition clarifies itself while the author is sleeping, or reading, or talking. Most assuredly, it develops more quickly through conscious brooding over it.

The second stage, with a large number of writers, is that of jotting down the ideas on paper. This, to me personally, is the most excitable and most enjoyable kind of work. It is wholly creative. One races with the pencil to record a pregnant word that symbolizes a big

thought, to scribble excitedly a sentence, to chart out a sequence of ideas. All the material that the mind has been collecting seems to pour out, mostly in a disconnected sort of way. Rapidly, the page is filled and another page of scrap paper is seized, and then another is defaced by a word here, a half-sentence there, an insertion up above, an arrow pointing to something below, a bracket about twin phrases, so that the pages really do look terribly disordered. These jottings may be many or they may be jejune and few. They are the germs which have grown out of the original article germ. Each one of them is capable of further development in expression.

In such jumbled jottings, the mind has clarified itself and the projected article is expressed in material, visible shape. These jottings, however, are merely stones, some of them jewels and some of them drab pebbles, that are to be joined together in the third stage of the writing of the projected article. They are strung about like the faces in a jig-saw puzzle after darling baby has been playing with the pieces. These jottings are merely the relevancies to the subject which the mind has thrown up from the depths. They are examined as such, they are rated on their worth in themselves and on their utility in reference to one another. They are weeded out, and then sorted. It is then that the author discovers what more is needed by way of material. He notes that he must verify facts, or must seek fresh information, or must test his probable conclusions, that he must, in general, do more by way of study or research or thought. Having marshaled what he possesses, he knows what he lacks.

Meanwhile, a unification process has been, somewhat subconsciously, working through. This fourth stage, then, is that of outlining the article in a definite form. It is that of determining the pattern, that of knitting together the bones into a skeleton so that the article will not be shapeless as a jellyfish. The ideas for the article now having been assembled, like recruits for a sergeant's squad, they are called to attention and assigned their places. They are ordered according to the sequence, of logic, of importance, of strength, of effect, of originality and novelty. They are charted according to their kinship, so that there may be a natural transition from one thought that is finished with to the thought that is to be begun. I am not speaking now of a transitional sentence that will make the progress of the article evident to the reader, but to the transitional quality of the thought that shapes the article in the author's mind.

Such an outline of the projected article need not necessarily be expressed in neat form on paper. It may be existing within the author's head in a totally spiritual form. But for younger and less experienced writers it would be far better to have the article skeletonized and the progressions noted in black on white, or any color on any other color. With such an outline, the writer sees in a glance his essay as an organic, unified, balanced whole. He can judge best his natural and interesting beginning, his strong and satisfying conclusion, his clear advance from first to last. With an outline such as this, the author is well prepared to begin composition.

It is the amateur author, however, who balks away from the labor of a preliminary plan. He will not go diving headlong into his inner recesses for the thoughts within him. He will not hammer out these thoughts into shape for use. He will not discipline them, in advance, and will not curb their disorder. Planning is a mental ordeal. It is tedious and sometimes harrowing. It is the process of making things dimly apprehended, things fragmentary, things vague and unfocussed, into something that is definite, clearcut, organic. And this, altogether before a word of the article is actually written. But with the plan completed, most of the difficulties of thought are also solved. There is seldom a pause in the composition, save for meticulousness in sentence or word expression.

Older writers sometimes rebel against the labor involved in visioning their articles as a whole. With a few thoughts extricated from the mass of thoughts on the subject, they feel confident that they can spread their original proposition over the required number of pages. Quite often, if they are sincere workmen and honest self-critics, they will decide that their article is jumbled and disordered, that it is lumpy and lacks that smoothness which characterizes their better work. One who writes much, however, can dispense with an outline on paper if he can hold his plan in his head. Frequently, when he is composing he changes his plan.

Both of these things happened in the processes which went to the making of this article. The primary proposition, after a morning of fretting about it, came to me in the early afternoon while I was putting on my hat to go out into the zero cold. The cognate thoughts came bubbling up while I stood on the dark platform of a subway car; they were so absorbing that I missed the station. They kept disturbing me while I talked with the friends I had gone to see about far different matters. In the evening, I jotted down all the thoughts that had occurred to me, and saw clearly a plan in which to fit them all. Then, in the morning, with this outline clearly visioned in my mind, I began playing the typewriter keys. But the article that is here printed is not the one I outlined.

BEWARE OF CAUTION

Beware of caution—and be wise!

Spend all you have in wild unthrift;
None but the violent storm the skies;
None but the reckless win for prize
God's all-unguarded gift.

"He who would save his life." "Sell all
Thou hast." "Lend, asking naught again."
"Take no thought for the morrow":—call
Such counsels folly: profit small
For calculating men.

Snug in his rock-bound grave the toad
Sleeps out his thousand dismal years.
But you—with God for goal and goad—
Wing upward, feathered by the load
Of desperate hopes and fears.

THEODORE MAYNARD.

A Review of Current Books

From the Beginnings

A HISTORY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. Vol. 1. By Dom Charles Poulet. B. Herder Book Co. \$5.00.

THIS is the authorized translation and adaptation from the fourth French edition. The translator is the Rev. Sidney A. Raemers. It is a book most excellently designed to satisfy the needs of the tyro in theological seminaries. This volume is divided into three major parts: of which the first treats of the Primitive Church; the second, of the Middle Ages; and the third, of the Beginnings of the Modern Period. Of the three, the first is by far the most vital, and fortunately it is the part most intelligently and clearly elucidated and analyzed by the author. The necessity for exact statement of doctrine, unmistakable explanation of that doctrine's essential meaning, and arguments supporting it, arguments sufficiently strong to convince even the untutored mind and to remain stationary therein, was a condition inescapable if the Primitive Church was to impress and convert the hearts of men. This condition was met by the logic of events—historically, by the virtuous lives of worthy teachers; dogmatically, by the clarifying expositions of the basic truths of Christianity embodied in the preachings and writings of the early and great Doctors of the Church; definitively, by the pronouncements and definitions of Supreme Pontiffs; and finally by the practice and obedience of the Faithful generally.

In his exposition of this Primitive Period and all its gigantic problems the author displays exquisite judgment and apt ability. One regrets that a like tribute cannot be paid to his treatment of the Middle Ages period. For in their delineation there is not merely an absence of brilliancy but actually a staleness and insipidness that wearies the reader. A monotonous toleration of the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, particularly those of the Saxon line, seems to be the irksome burden that the author must carry along. He carries it, but the reader cannot avoid feeling the obvious need of consulting some more sympathetic historians about this undoubtedly interesting and important epoch. Can it be that the original has suffered by inadequate translation or inopportune adaptation? One doubts that. In the final part, however, which deals with the Beginnings of the Modern Period, the author recovers his spirit and vitality. He treats it with a verve and vigor that at once perks up the drooping attention of the student and renders him alert to the living realities evolving. This revival of life and energy is refreshing. It argues well for the continuation of this really worth-while work in the promised forthcoming second volume, and leaves one with the hopeful expectancy that the animation so gratifying at the opening of this church-history undertaking may be found again at its close. Every chapter of this first volume is abundantly documented with texts and documents and is furnished with a large bibliography. There is a long alphabetical index.

M. J. SMITH.

Winning the Franchise

THE IRISH VOLUNTEERS AND CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION. By Patrick Rogers. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne 12/6.

TO link the American and French Revolutions with Catholic Emancipation in Ireland is not so violent a wrench as might appear at first glance. The Irish Volunteers came into existence in 1778 to protect the coasts from the raids of American privateers and their allies, the French, since no regular forces were available for the task. It was not long before this military body, bound by no oath to the Crown and under no obligation to the authorities at Dublin Castle, began to wield great political in-

fluence in the cause of Parliamentary reform. Yet the overthrow of the grossly unfair electoral system, the main objective of the reformers, hinged on the Catholic Question—whether or not the old fetters of civil disabilities for Catholics were to be removed. Obviously, no Parliament truly representative of the Irish people could be chosen if the majority of that people were excluded from the franchise.

It is true that from the accession to the throne of George III in 1760 the position of Irish Catholics had grown more tolerable, and gradually the galling restrictions of the Penal Code were being slackened. But the timidity of the Catholic leaders, the last hot flames of bigotry, and the skilful *divide et impera* tactics of the Government withheld the franchise from Catholics until 1793. Complete emancipation was not secured even then, but the essential victory had been gained. Yet it is doubtful whether this phase of the struggle could have been won so soon without the staunch aid of the Irish Dissenters of the North. In the motivation of this combat, expediency and a spirit of humanitarian tolerance were strangely mingled, while the success of the American revolt against the mother country and the liberalism inspired by the French Revolution contributed much to the emotional background.

Dr. Rogers devotes his excellent study to the part played in this movement by the Irish Volunteers. There is an introductory sketch of the political scene from the accession of George III to the formation of the first Volunteer corps. From then on the political fortunes of the organization are traced up to its suppression by the Government in 1793. Though the Volunteers had made it impossible for the Emancipation question to be sidetracked or ignored, it caused a serious split in their own ranks; and from 1791 onwards the United Irish Society, founded that year in Belfast, was the rallying point for the friends of freedom. The honorable share of the Protestants in the fight for Catholic Emancipation may surprise the reader; so, too, may the timorous attitude of many of the Catholics. But the sunlight of liberty has more than once dazzled the eyes of emerging captives. And in the end, as the author remarks, "the French Revolution had done more than galvanize into action the Irish Catholic; it had made a man of him."

This is an authoritative, well-written work of sound scholarship. It will serve to complement Denis Gwynn's *The Struggle for Catholic Emancipation*, which appeared seven years ago. One may regret that the personalities involved in the story are perhaps overshadowed by the events; the straightforward, sinewy narrative leaves little place for character portraits.

GERARD FRANCIS YATES.

The Magic Maker

IN SEARCH OF MOZART. By Henri Ghéon. Translated by Alexander Dru. Sheed and Ward. \$4.00.

THIS book, written with engaging simplicity, is a real joy not only to lovers of Mozart but to lovers of music in general. It has a richness of material and a depth of sincere feeling that is rare in modern biography. Perhaps the salient point of the book's appeal is the author's evident enthusiasm for his subject. "I am going for a walk for my own pleasure and delight through an enchanted world. . . . I may as well admit it; I am confessing to a passion. The book that I am devoting to you (Mozart) is without excuse, for it has only one—love."

The volume realizes completely the author's aim: to guide the reader through unexplored phases of Mozart's character and music until he finally comes to know and love the magic maker. It is not a technical book, nor the work of a musician or historian; but it is the work of "an imaginative writer in sympathy with all forms of beauty, of one who has listened much to music, is curious, and a traveler."

Henri Ghéon, known and loved as the biographer of the Curé d'Ars and of St. Theresa, here displays effectively a poignant understanding of Mozart the genius as well as a sensitive ap-

preciation of Mozart the man. Of Mozart's music, Ghéon says: "Mozart is music itself. Whether it comes from heaven or earth, he seems made for it and it for him." And of Mozart the man: "The truth is that Wolfgang learnt very young to coquette and flirt with every woman." Here we find M. Ghéon recording with a kind of startling simplicity the clay that fashioned the feet of his idol. "He was unfaithful by nature. He was caught too quickly to have been caught completely!" M. Ghéon observes. (O wise M. Ghéon!)

The book proceeds with a large disregard for the usual close adherence to chronological order, although it follows a definitely patterned curve which parallels the development of Mozart's life. Ghéon follows his hero from Salzburg to Paris, from Munich to Vienna, and thus, ineluctably from the exquisite minutes of his childhood through the greatest piano concertos and sonatas of his young manhood—through the "Six Quartets for Hayden," the divinely beautiful "Unfinished Mass," the jeweled "Quintet in G Minor," the widely acclaimed "Figaro" and the "Magic Flute," which marked Mozart forever with the indelible mark of greatness.

But M. Ghéon, with his eyes on Mozart's delicately modeled figure, and his ears tuned to the beauties of Mozart's inspired melodies, tells us:

He was a master at sixteen . . . but in his case it matters little. At every age his genius suited itself to his talent and made it possible for him to give his utmost, whether simple or complex, without ever forcing. So much was this so that in its way every success was as complete at first as at the end; in the first minuet as in the "Magic Flute."

M. Ghéon contrives somehow to quote themes from the major compositions illustrating certain skills of Mozart, or simply for the sheer joy of quoting them, without detracting in any way from the beauty or coherence of his prose. He delights in analyzing the nature of Mozart's genius, which he finds preeminently spiritual, as distinct from the pagan or the secular.

Mozart's music, he tells us, is pure music, and emanates from a mind which, by forgetting self, gains the power to incorporate in tonality the universe as a totality.

ELINOR D'ALTON CROCKETT.

Shorter Reviews

ROAD OF AGES. By Robert Nathan. Alfred A. Knopf. \$2.50. Published February 1.

BOOKS of this nature call attention, perhaps unintentionally, to the Jewish problem. There is such a problem—as Belloc, with his forceful lucidity, has noted. To deny the problem, as many do, is to frustrate any real effort at its solution. The Jews are a nation, never really assimilated by the peoples among whom they dwell. This is true from China to Peru; from the age of the Pharaohs to the era of the New Deal. There is a mystical explanation of this phenomenon for which historical rationalism has no answer. Anti-Semitism, in its usual form, sins against both natural justice and Christian charity. But acute and candid Hebrews admit the reality of errors and faults upon their side. The reviewer inclines to the solution expounded by Belloc in his brilliant monograph *The Jews*. In any event, those interested in the problem will find profit and entertainment in Mr. Nathan's brilliant fantasy.

Mr. Nathan's latest novel is written in his usual arresting style. It is correctly characterized as a realistic fantasy, describing the migration of the persecuted children of Israel to the Great Gobi desert. Doubtless Herr Rosenberg and his school of thought will pray that Mr. Nathan has the gift of prophecy. But jesting aside, the novel contains much brilliant characterization of Jewish types. The wealthy and the poverty stricken, the pious Orthodox and the rabid Communist are all vividly portrayed. Some may consider a few of the portraits idealized, but Mr. Nathan has been both objective and vivid in his character painting in this stirring fantasy of a great migration.

L. K. P.

ROMANTIC AND HISTORIC FLORIDA. By A. Hyatt Verrill. Dodd, Mead and Company. \$3.00. Published January 17.

THE author presents an interesting and fairly informative account of the vicissitudes through which Florida has passed since its discovery. From the arrival of the first Spanish galleon to the airport in Miami and from the first settlement at St. Augustine to the land boom, the gold seekers, *conquistadores*, French and English privateers, free-booting buccaneers, American realtors—all pass before the reader's eyes as tourist-wise he is conducted through romantic and historic Florida. This traveler's point of view, however, leaves an impression of superficiality, belying the *Historic* in the title and almost places the book in the category of a super-guide. The tourist approach, too, causes needless repetition, and at times is confusing. The tone adopted by the author is gossipy, often flippant, and sometimes descends to the vernacular.

Despite an attempt at impartiality, the earlier part of the book is marred by unconcealed prejudice against "cruel, avaricious dons" and "fanatical, superstitious friars," an attitude which dates the author and leads one to suspect his history. Yet this bias is not surprising in one who gratuitously insults the Negro by affirming that because of the exclusion of the colored from certain towns in Florida, "crimes of any sort are practically non-existent."

The author, however, when untrammelled by racial or religious prejudice, as in his account of the pirates that infested the coasts of Florida and preyed on the shipping of all nations, almost redeems himself.

A. J. O.

Recent Non-Fiction

THE ROOSEVELT OMNIBUS. Edited by Don Wharton. The President's recent birthday celebrated throughout the nation ought to give added impetus to the sale of this fascinating scrapbook published last October. There are several hundred photographs, including many of Himself, and one four-page strip of thirty-five portraits showing how F. D. R. looked in all the stages of his career—from nursery to the new Executive quarters. There are cartoons and caricatures, not only by Cesare, Frueh, Darling, Alajalov, Covarrubias, and others, but also from *Punch*, *Simplicissimus*, and the London dailies. Articles by Robert Allen, Henry Pringle, Morris Markey, and others get the man and his personality down in type, although an understandable omission is Heywood Broun's famous essay on "Fearless Frank." Newspaper clippings, samples of the Roosevelt handwriting, some of his earlier prose complete this unusually interesting book. (Knopf. \$3.50)

THE WORKS OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. All the master's writings are set down in chronological order, with the text prepared by the distinguished scholar, Arthur Henry Bullen, in this beautifully printed and notable bit of bookmaking. There is a glossary, but fortunately not a single footnote. A necessity for all Shakespeare lovers. (New York: Oxford University Press. \$3.00)

THE WORD INCARNATE. By the Most Rev. Alban Goodier, S.J. It goes without saying that in the past few years the author is responsible more than any of his contemporaries for making known and interpreting the humanity of Our Blessed Lord. This harmony of the Gospels describes the happenings in the life of Christ from the advent of St. John up to the Ascension. It was compiled in connection with the author's recent books, *The Public Life* and *The Passion and Death of Our Lord Jesus Christ* with a view to helping many in prayer and meditation. The book contains a chart showing the events in Our Saviour's life as set down by each Evangelist, which should be of great assistance to students of Scripture. (Kenedy. \$1.75. Also Burns, Oates, and Washbourne. 5/.)

LAVALLIÈRE, ACTRESS AND SAINT. By H. Willette; translated by Mary B. M. Sands. Vivid account of how a young woman rose to the very pinnacle of fame on the French stage and then, to the amazement of her friends, quit the theater, broke with her

former life, made determined efforts to enter the Carmelite Order. As Sister Eve Marie du Coeur de Jésus, of the Third Order of St. Francis, she did missionary work among the Arabs of Africa, and died in 1929 with the reputation of sanctity. (London: Sands and Company. 3/6)

THE FIRST LEGION. By Emmet Lavery. This—the play about the Jesuits that ran three months on Broadway—is the best American Catholic play up to date. There is no moment when it is not progressing rapidly to a climax. The characterization is firm and deft; the dialogue telling and never unessential. Things happen swiftly, smoothly, and powerfully without any visible manipulation on the part of the author. The unmasking of the secret Jesuit Visitor and the political turning-of-the-tables at the end are melodramatic but effective. (Samuel French. \$1.50)

Recent Fiction

THE HOUND OF IRELAND. By Donn Byrne. This is a posthumous collection of stories by Donn Byrne, Irishman and Brooklynite, whose pen was at home in any part of the world to which its errant leaps carried himself and his charmed readers. Be the scene and the people as exotic as the Orient or as domestic as Sixth Avenue, these later stories of a lamented rapid-fire narrator still carry their admitted air of authenticity. Byrne knew and makes you feel his Ireland, his New York, his world. He is still at best conveying his sense of the dastardliness of his villains or a male character's instinct to recognize an ugly-natured woman. The title tale is not the best of these eight, nor the poorest. First choice is "Mrs. Dutton Intervenes," which in its last five lines leaves all O. Henry endings sheerly outdone. (Appleton-Century. \$2.00)

THE IRON MOTHER. By Charles Braibant. Its jacket documented with the acclaim of André Maurois and a dozen other continental critics, this volume is a translation of *Le Roi Dort*, the first novel of Charles Braibant, a scholar whose field is the middle ages. The book is a story of maternal domination. Anticlerical to a degree, tainted with the sophistries of rationalism and the scatological leering of the libertine, the free-thinking peasant who narrates this story is in many ways its saddest and most interesting character. But he is only a mask for the author, who poaches on the preserves of the outmoded Goncourts in his efforts to blacken the French peasant. If Pasteur's faith was likened to that of a Breton peasant woman, the chances are that René Bazin, and not M. Braibant, is correct. The book is not without beauty, particularly in its description of the ancient Aisne and other scenic glories of France, but the normal reader will gag at the spectacle of the spineless hero who is anything but lovable. Published February 6. (Harper. \$2.50)

MARY POPPINS. By P. L. Travers. The jacket note of this book leads one to expect a composite of *Peter Pan* and *Alice in Wonderland*. We are not entirely disappointed; some pages here and there make the high grade. But in others the fantasy is stretched past all acceptable limits. On the whole, children will probably get more pleasure from the history of Mary Poppins, Nannie extraordinary, with its many illustrations, than their more critical elders. (Reynal and Hitchcock. \$1.50)

DEATH BLEW OUT THE MATCH. By Kathleen Moore Knight. A fine first novel of murder, mystery, and much excitement on a small Cape Cod Island, told in first person feminine. An ingenious plot, realistic atmosphere, nice characterization, and sustained interest combine to make a highly readable story. Published February 1. (Doubleday, Doran. \$2.00)

SALUTE TO THE GODS. By Malcolm Campbell. A motor-racing mystery by the holder of the world's record of over 272 miles an hour, published as he attempts to break that record in Florida. While the mystery itself is slight, the racing background is so real and authentic that it makes an absorbing story of the men in cars hurtling around race tracks. Published February 14. (Putnam's. \$2.00)

Communications

Letters to ensure publication should not, as a rule, exceed 500 words. The editors are not responsible for opinions expressed in this department. No attention will be paid to anonymous communications.

Deaf No More

To the Editor of AMERICA:

In response to the "Challenge of the Deaf," published in the issue of AMERICA for December 22, I make reply that the diocese of Louisville, Ky., more than meets the requirements of what should be done in behalf of the deaf as suggested in this communication. Doubtless the picture that portrays the sad lot of Catholic deaf mutes, as a whole, in the United States is a sad one. However, I submit that, thanks to the zeal of the Most Rev. Bishop of Louisville, the situation of the Catholic deaf of this diocese paints a tiny bright spot in what is perhaps a sad picture drawn by the writer of the article in question.

In this diocese, in place of only two out of five of the Catholic deaf being practical Catholics, as is stated in the aforesaid communication, ninety per cent of the Catholic deaf are practical Catholics. In one family the deaf-mute member is the only one who is a practical Catholic. Nearly all the Catholic deaf of school age attend a Catholic school for the deaf. Those who do not attend Catholic schools for the deaf receive religious instruction privately in the sign language. There has recently been one deaf-mute convert, and there are now several other prospects. Once a month in a church centrally located in this city an instruction is given to the deaf in the sign language. These instructions are faithfully attended by the majority of the Catholic, and also by many of the non-Catholic deaf.

I can vouch for the accuracy of the above statements, because I am the deaf-mute "pastor" of this vicinity, appointed by the Most Rev. Bishop. And although I cannot sign with the rapidity of life-long signers, still I get credit for being a "plain" signer. I think most anyone can learn the sign language, at least to a degree of perfection. I grant that its mastery involves a considerable amount of hard work. However, work in behalf of the deaf has many compensations. For they are most appreciative; and a soul saved is a soul saved. And when we come before God's Great White Throne, it will be found that the deaf mute will be a deaf mute no more, but shall be "made whole."

Louisville, Ky.

(REV.) JOSEPH A. NEWMAN.

Unkindest Cut

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Many readers have long noted in silence the antipathy of your columns toward veterans' legislation and during that time have been staunch supporters of your scholarly weekly, forming their opinions as Catholic laity largely from material furnished through your pages. May we, therefore, take the privilege of old friends to remind you that the American Legion is not demanding the bonus, but rather suggesting that if huge expenditures are to be continued by the Federal Government for general relief there are some 4,000,000 men who would be immeasurably assisted by such an enactment as the payment of the adjusted service certificate. These men are from the communities of every State, and a more equitable distribution of assistance to the individual cities and towns can hardly be suggested.

As one who can in no way benefit from any such legislation, may I suggest that were you as well informed on the bona fide merits of the proposal as you are on the abuses; were you familiar with the endless cases of the disabled (not always hospitalized) and the needs of their families, you would see the emergency suggestion (in an era of Presidential emergency actions) as a practical method of alleviating the distress of those whose services are so

lightly forgotten by interests which profited most in the late war drama.

On the other hand, we venture to say that had a definite policy of retrenchment along all lines, and of actual budget balancing, been attempted by the Federal Government, the Legion would be in the front ranks of those casting their "bit" once more for the good of their country. It has been deemed wise, however, to extend the Federal Emergency Relief Administration throughout the land. The Government itself has been offering assistance to specifically chosen "classes," the farmer, the heads of small industry, etc. It is merely suggested by the Legion, that if this policy continues, justice should recognize a class whose sudden removal from business and industry in 1917 and 1918 (and the resultant adjustment or more often maladjustment) made them the first victims of the current depression. We assume without hesitation that you have no quarrel with the actually disabled.

We are as concerned as you over the "bottom of the barrel" and believe in its eventual, if not present, arrival. However, if by some kind Fate (or Congressional action) the cornucopia of beneficence continues to pour forth, is the veteran presumptuous indeed to lift up his head?

Through the service of the veteran this country was preserved. The "most unkindest cut of all" is the assumption that he would now plunder and rifle her.

Waltham, Mass.

IDA LOW HARRINGTON.

[In the editorial to which Mrs. Harrington refers, three positions were presented. First, no claim in justice can be urged for immediate payment of the bonus, or, since Mrs. Harrington prefers the phrase, of "the adjusted service certificate." Second, even were the claim based on justice, immediate payment is impossible. Third, there is reason to believe that this demand for immediate payment is but the first move in a campaign for pensions. We see nothing in Mrs. Harrington's criticism which attacks these positions, or obliges us to modify or withdraw them. Ed. AMERICA.]

Big Bad Wolf in Latin

To the Editor of AMERICA:

In answer to "Ignotus'" request for books that deal with Latin as a spoken language I should like to recommend "Primus Annus," "Puer Romanus," and the teacher's handbook, "Praeceptor," giving the principles and application of the direct method approach to the Latin language. They are all published by the Oxford University Press.

Although these texts regard the direct method as the best approach to Latin, they regard Roman life as the proper subject for Latin conversation. I have not the books at hand at present but I recall a statement from "Praeceptor" that reading modern books in Latin, e.g., "Robinson Crusoe," may be a lot of fun, but has no connection with classical education. Also that one can discuss class and homework as well in Latin as English but to speak of bicycles and punctured tires in Latin is difficult.

Using the language from the start as a spoken medium helps to rid the student of the illusion that he is concerned with a code into which he puts good clear English.

I used the above-mentioned books with great satisfaction to myself (and some advantage, I hope, to the students) in freshman Latin classes, also employing the excellent translations into classical Latin of modern patriotic songs by Father Geyser, S.J., of Campion College, Prairie du Chien, Wis.

Three freshmen who came without any Latin credits fell into my hands for special tutoring in the very elements of that language. I let my enthusiasm for the direct method have as free rein as I could, remembering that they had to take up the grind-grammar vivisection of classics in regular Latin classes the next year. I won't claim that they became good Latin conversationalists (they might see this letter), but we did employ the Latin tongue many times for the full hour period without lapsing into English after the first two months of class. Grammatical rules and parsing were done in Latin, and in lighter moments we rendered the "Big Bad Wolf" and other gems into Ciceronian idiom.

Philadelphia.

(REV.) HARRY T. DEEGAN, C.M.

Chronicle

Home News.—President Roosevelt and the American Federation of Labor neared an open break over the code for the automobile industry. On January 31, the President announced that he would extend the code from February 1 to June 16, the date of expiration of the NIRA. He made the Automobile Labor Board (which had been repudiated by the A. F. of L.) a part of the code itself. On February 2 Donald R. Richberg's actions were attacked by John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, who also accused NRA of yielding to "big business." On February 5, President Roosevelt publicly assumed full responsibility for continuing the Automobile Labor Board and rebuked the A. F. of L. for refusing to participate in the elections being conducted by the Board. On January 31, the President signed a measure extending the life of the RFC for two years. On February 4, he signed the bill increasing to \$45,000,000,000 the amount of Government Securities which may be outstanding at one time. On February 4, bills were introduced in Congress to carry out the transportation program proposed by Transportation Coordinator Eastman. On February 6, bills proposing a drastic control of the public-utility holding companies were introduced. On February 4, the Administration's banking legislation was in the hands of the Banking and Currency Committees. It proposes large increases in the power of the Federal Reserve Board. Great power over open-market conditions as a means of controlling credit would be given to the Board. The President's work-relief program was meeting with opposition in the Senate Committee, and several sections were eliminated from the bill on February 5. It was reported on February 6 that a growing movement for continuation of the dole would be the chief obstacle to passage of the bill. On January 31, Secretary of State Hull announced the termination after fourteen months of negotiations with Soviet Russia on debt settlement. In view of the present attitude of the Soviet Government, he did not feel the hope of any agreement could be encouraged. On February 6, Mr. Hull announced that the United States would abolish its Consulate General established in Moscow last March. On February 2, a reciprocal trade treaty between the United States and Brazil was signed, each country granting tariff reductions.

Mexican Events.—On January 31, Senator Borah demanded a Senatorial investigation of religious persecution in Mexico, and called upon the Senate to "protest the anti-religious campaign and practices of the present rulers of Mexico," that it "strongly condemn the cruelties and brutalities that have accompanied the campaign of the present Mexican Government against the profession and practice of religious beliefs by our nationals of all religious faiths now domiciled in Mexico," and that it further ask the Mexican Government in the name of

humanity "to cease denying fundamental and inalienable rights" to our nationals there. The Mexican Embassy in Washington in a statement declared that "there is no religious persecution in Mexico." Three days before, the Governor of Oaxaca, which a year ago had 108 priests, issued a decree limiting the number to one for the entire State, which has a total population of 1,082,191. These data, included in a table prepared by Archbishop Ruiz, Apostolic Delegate to Mexico, show that Mexico has now a total of 334 authorized priests to serve a population of 15,012,573 over an area of 745,257 square miles. In Mexico City, on January 31, the Under Secretary of War and Marine reported that rebel groups were active in nine Mexican States. On February 3, the Mexican Government canceled all concessions granted to the British-owned Eagle Oil Company in 1906, saying that they were unconstitutional and against the best interests of the republic. The company is the largest oil concern operating in Mexico.

Franco-British Agreement.—An important agreement concerning joint action with regard to Germany's re-armament was reached in London by British and French Premiers and Foreign Ministers, after a two days' conference, on February 2. Decisions were reached on four major points: (1) annulment of the military clauses of Part V of the Treaty of Versailles. Germany's unilateral action in re-armament was considered as having made these inoperative; (2) replacement of the military clauses by a general convention for the limitation of armaments; (3) conclusion of the "Eastern Locarno" treaty for security and non-aggression, and of the Central European pact, which affects Austria, for non-intervention and maintenance of existing boundaries; (4) return of Germany to the League of Nations. It was understood that a reciprocal air convention was agreed upon by the French and British representatives, which would include Germany, Belgium, and Italy. If Germany refused, the air convention would be concluded without her. The air convention was hailed as putting an end to the nightmare fear of sudden swoops from the air which has been hanging over Western Europe. It marked also the first offer made by France to come to the aid of Great Britain. British reaction to the agreement was uniformly favorable, save for Lord Beaverbrook. French comment was generally sympathetic. The German Government expressed pleasure at the cordial tone of the conferees' communication, which implied equality, even though it did not express it. The Germans promised to study the proposal with earnest good will. An appeal was made over the radio by Premier Flandin, of France, to the effect that this agreement was climaxing the series of recent moves for peace sponsored by France.

Chaco War Activities.—Reports from the Chaco War district credited Paraguay with several important advances, though dispatches from LaPaz stated that these were countered by Bolivian plane bombardments of concentrations of Paraguayans. Meanwhile, Great Britain,

France, and Sweden agreed to follow the recommendations of the Chaco Committee of the League of Nations against Paraguay and lift from Bolivia, their arms embargo hitherto applying to both belligerents. In Washington no Congressional move seemed contemplated by the Administration towards similar action.

Uruguayan Revolt.—Though official dispatches from Montevideo insisted that the Government had brought about a collapse of the revolt projected against President Terra, rumors persisted that the revolutionaries were still strong and that fighting continued practically daily, especially along the Brazilian frontier, where Basilio Muñoz, the rebel leader, had concentrated most of his revolutionaries. Muñoz himself was reported wounded by an aerial bombardment. On February 4 attempts at a peace parley deadlocked. It was said that the rebel force numbered 5,000, the Government army 8,000.

Accord on Chahar Border.—The settlement of border troubles in Chahar Province was unofficially reported on February 3. Representatives of the Japanese Army and of the Chinese Government of Chahar were said to have effected an agreement according to which Japan would not station troops in the disputed area. The administration of Eastern Chahar would remain in the hands of the Chahar Provincial Government. The settlement allayed fears that Japanese aggression in Mongolian occupied territory might create disturbances with Soviet Russia. Raids reported in the middle of January by Japanese and Manchukuoan troops across the undetermined border territories of Chahar Province from adjoining Jehol were explained by Japanese military sources as advances to oust raiding Mongols from the disputed territory. Chinese, on the other hand, saw in the movement a further Japanese encroachment on Chinese territory. Unconfirmed reports were current of new hostilities along the Manchukuoan-Outer Mongolian border.

Anniversary in Paris.—The nation celebrated the first anniversary of "Bloody Tuesday" with great excitement, some rioting, but apparently without deaths. Premier Flandin, disregarding the official custom, attended a Mass sung at Notre Dame Cathedral for the victims of last year's street fighting. His entrance into the Cathedral was accompanied by popular demonstrations of disapproval, and his exit by cries of "Assassin!" A group, seemingly composed of Royalists, attempted to march against the Senate chamber, but was broken up after a short clash with the police in which about fifteen were injured. A procession of 4,000 Young Patriots was allowed to march to the Arc de Triomphe and place a wreath in memory of the dead. Great crowds continued to congregate during the day in the Place de la Concorde, but probably due to the fact that an extraordinarily large police force had been concentrated at that spot, there were no disorders. In the evening it was reported that thousands of working men descended upon the Place Vendôme. For a while there was danger of a great

street fight. But the police managed to keep the men from organizing any sort of attack and by midnight the danger had passed. Later it was reported that the police had prevented serious disturbance when they stopped Communist groups who were attempting to get to the Place de la Concorde in order to demonstrate against the Rightists. The press estimated that 14,000 police were on duty, backed by 20,000 Mobile Guards, and 50,000 soldiers.

British Relief Experiment.—After one month of application, the scheme for assisting those workers not eligible for insurance benefits was found to be inadequate. The tests and rates for the support of the idle were under the control of the Unemployment Assistance Board, and were regarded as more liberal than the terms under the old law. But what appeared favorable in statistics proved to be harmful in the dispensing of support to the destitute. The law was agreed upon by all political parties to be in need of revision; meanwhile, those regulations which worked injustice were set aside and immediate disbursements were made according to the old law.

Jugoslav Parliament Dissolved.—On February 6 Premier Yeftitch unexpectedly announced the dissolution of the Parliament elected November 20, 1931, the first after the proclamation of the dictatorship. Reasons given were that Parliament's term would end in a few months anyhow, and that it was desirable to inaugurate a new electoral policy according to which not only the old political parties but the newly formed group sponsoring the establishment of a Fascist Corporative State would be able to seek mandates. The Premier's action met with widespread approval. Elections will be held May 5 and the new Deputies convoked June 3. Strikes of university students and Communist activities during the week were severely dealt with by the Belgrade police. More than fifty students were reported injured; one killed.

Reich Affairs.—The former Crown Prince, Friedrich Wilhelm, was closeted with Chancellor Hitler but the subject of the conversation was not divulged. Informed sources attached significance to the visit. The proposed barter agreement with the United States, involving 500,000 bales of cotton, was said to be shelved. Between 180,000 and 200,000 persons have been sterilized under the Nazi regime, it was estimated. The Franco-German negotiations regarding return of the Saar were deadlocked over the disposition of the Saar basin railroads. German interests were anxiously awaiting the United States Supreme Court's decision in the gold case. An anti-Roosevelt verdict would cost the Reich 1,275,000,000 marks.

Hitler Concentrates Power.—Governments of cities, towns, and villages were brought under the immediate supervision of the National Socialist party, and Chancellor Hitler further concentrated power in his own hands by taking over the right to appoint and discharge high state

officials and by assuming further authority over the Army in the matter of commutation of soldiers' sentences. Germany's national income increased 7,300,000,000 marks for 1934. Foreign creditors met in Berlin to confer with representatives of the Reich concerning terms for the prolongation of credits. The Hamburg-American and North German Lloyd lines entered into a new agreement, resuming "free business life" and ending their union which had controlled seventy per cent of German shipping.

Pagan Calendar for Peasants.—The official Reich peasants' calendar for 1935 makes Nordic-pagan festivals of Christian holy days. For Good Friday the peasants are told to remember the "4,500 Saxons slaughtered by Charlemagne" and the 9,000,000 other heroes of the pagan faith. The Day of the Three German Gods takes the place of Epiphany. Ash Wednesday appears as Ash Wotensday. Easter is the festival of Ostara, goddess of Spring. Ascension Day commemorates Thor's recovering his hammer while Christmas Eve is Baldur's Light Birth. The calendar informs the peasantry that the breakdown of morality and justice began with Christianity. The Berlin Catholic diocese protested publicly against anti-Catholic propaganda displayed at the agricultural exhibit in Berlin. Slurs against the priesthood were featured.

Pontiff's Anniversary.—As Pope Pius celebrated the thirteenth anniversary of his coronation on March 6, the press again reported rumors that new Cardinals were to be created in the consistory which His Holiness was planning. It was recalled that there were eighteen vacancies in the College, which at its full strength is made up of seventy members. The recent deaths of Cardinal Bourne and of Cardinal Gasparri still left the College evenly divided between Italians and non-Italians. France led the foreign nations with six red hats; the United States had four, Germany and Spain three each, and Poland two. The consistory was expected to disclose the names of the two Cardinals which the Pope had reserved *in petto* since March, 1933. It was also expected to provide a new red hat for England, to raise the Archbishop of Buenos Aires, and to name a new Camerlengo. With the Advocate of Blessed Thomas More's cause arriving in Rome, the Pope announced that he approved the canonizations both of More and of Cardinal Fisher, martyred under Henry VIII. The press believed, also that the recent German victory in the Saar had brought the Berlin-Vatican relations into a focus. Saar Catholics, it was reported, voted almost unanimously for Germany, and this was expected to put Hitler in a conciliatory attitude towards the problem of what status was to be given to the Catholic associations.

Irish Duty Agreement.—Friendlier arrangements in trade followed upon the original understanding between the Free State and Great Britain in the matter of Irish coal imports and cattle exports. A relaxation of the penal duties imposed by both countries on both items was promised for March 1; heretofore, the Irish farmer had to

pay duties on the cattle he sent to England and the coal he bought under the recent trade agreement. A further British concession was that of reducing the duties on Irish blooded stock. The horse-breeding industry, especially, suffered through these penalties. The official trade statistics for 1934, just issued, revealed a record adverse balance, namely, £20,461,318. The reason noted was that of the importation of equipment for home industries, such as beet-sugar and tobacco manufacture. Imports from the United States amounted to £1,800,000, while exports were valued at £122,000. The balance was expected to be rectified through the shipment of Irish liquor.

Soviet All-Union Congress.—Before adjourning on February 6, what were considered radical changes in the Soviet Constitution were voted by the All-Union Congress. Principal among these was the provision for the secret ballot and direct election of members of all Soviets and Congresses of Soviets, and to eliminate the present inequality of representation of industrial workers and the peasantry. Of the 2,042 delegates 73.8 per cent were Communist party members; the rest mostly sympathizers. Government protests to the contrary notwithstanding, a joint appeal issued on February 4 in Vienna by Cardinal Innitzer, Rabbi Feuchtwang and Professor Choisy, of the International Interconfessional Organization for Russian Relief, emphasized the existence of a famine in Russia accompanied by an immense amount of suffering.

British Pledges on India.—At the second reading of the Indian Constitution bill, Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for India, declared that the ultimate aim of the British Government was that of granting full Dominion status to the Indian Federation of States. The bill now before Parliament contained no reference to such a status: it was, however, understood from the principle in the preamble, repeated from the 1919 bill. No official mention of a future Dominion status was made by any member of the Government since 1930. When the new bill was introduced this session of Parliament, the Labor members and the leaders of the dominant groups and parties in India protested with great indignation. Sir Samuel's statement was regarded as a concession which might further develop into an embodiment of a Government pledge in the bill itself.

How the American Communist theater is invading London will be told by G. M. Godden in "American Communism Acts in London."

A writer in Mexico who uses the name of P. S. M. Ridland will throw great light on Mexico in "An A B C of Mexican Politics." It will help to explain many puzzles.

Norbert Engels is welcomed to our pages after an absence in a charming piece with the title, "Bless and Alas the Radio."

How deceptive names for grades of many goods are foisted on us is told by Floyd Anderson in "Quality Standards for Consumers."